The Magazine With A Truly International Outlook

World Unity

THIS MONTH

Must the Geneva Conference Fail?—*Editorial*
The World's Great Teachers—*Woodward*
Roerich's Peace Plan—*Grant*
Why East and West Are Different—*Clark*
The Stupidity of the Sword—*Randall*

Interpreting the spirit of the new age

Evolution of Human Affairs—*Hinner*
The Right to Live—*Lord*

25 cents

February 1932

A STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

Issued October 1, 1927

WORLD UNITY MAGAZINE, as its title implies, will endeavor to interpret and record those significant changes in present-day thought which mark the trend toward worldwide understanding and a humanized civilization able to release the finer aspirations of mankind.

Its essential purpose is to make accessible to awakened minds the views and conclusions of creative workers on subjects of truly general interest and importance. The emergence of new and higher values in philosophy, science, religion, ethics and the arts from the alembic of universal unrest represents the focal point of vision for World Unity Magazine.

To create a medium capable of responding faithfully, without prejudice of race, creed, class or nationality, to the uprush of the spirit of the age wherever or however manifested—this is the ideal to which World Unity Magazine is devoted; and faith in humanity arising at last to assert its organic oneness, the foundation on which it stands.

Constructive suggestions will be heartily welcomed from progressive individuals and organizations to assist the Magazine to fulfill its function as a clearing-house of ideas and plans reflecting the organic trends of the age toward world unity and cooperation. The Magazine will endeavor to publish significant articles of a stimulating character, without assuming responsibility for its contributors' views.

WORLD UNITY

INTERPRETING
THE SPIRIT OF THE AGE

JOHN HERMAN RANDALL, *Editor*
HORACE HOLLEY, *Managing Editor*

CONTENTS

Vol. IX FEBRUARY, 1932 No. 5

Sacred Gifts — *Frontispiece*
Must the Geneva Conference Fail? — *Editorial*
The Message of the World's Teachers — *Hugh McCurdy Woodward*
Orient and Occident. III. — *Hans Kohn*
Nicholas Roerich's Plan of World Peace — *Frances R. Grant*
Cecil Disarmament Congress — *Amy Woods*
This Praying World — *John William Kitching*
Why East and West Are Different. IV. — *Grover Clark*
The Stupidity of the Sword — *John Herman Randall, Jr.*
Evolution of Human Affairs — *Paul Hinner*
The Novel of the War Years. IV. — *Evelyn Newman*
The Right to Live — *Clifford L. Lord*
The American Peace Movement — *Russell M. Cooper*

Round Table

WORLD UNITY MAGAZINE is published by WORLD UNITY PUBLISHING CORPORATION, 4 East 12th Street, New York City: MARY RUMSEY MOVIUS, *president;* HORACE HOLLEY, *vice-president;* FLORENCE MORTON, *treasurer;* JOHN HERMAN RANDALL, *secretary.* Published monthly, 25 cents a copy, $2.50 a year in the United States and in all other countries (postage included). THE WORLD UNITY PUBLISHING CORPORATION and its editors welcome correspondence on articles related to the aims and purposes of the magazine. Printed in U. S. A. Contents copyrighted 1932 by WORLD UNITY PUBLISHING CORPORATION.

SACRED GIFTS
Painting by Nicholas Roerich

MUST THE GENEVA CONFERENCE FAIL?

EDITORIAL

It would seem as if all the forces of reaction had conspired during the last six months against the success of the Disarmament Conference which meets in Geneva on February second. Even the most optimistic admit that only a miracle can save it from tragic failure. Beginning with Mr. MacDonald's visit to this country and the public statement given to the world at that time, hope has burned high that under the combined and aggressive leadership of England and the United States, something at last would be accomplished at the forthcoming Conference.

The grim facts still face us that the world's expenditures on all arms is now nearly five billion dollars yearly, an increase of 70% over that previous to the Great War, and this in the presence of the prolonged world economic depression. It is still true, to quote President Hoover, "Of all proposals for the economic rehabilitation of the world, I know of none which compares in necessity or importance with the successful result of the Disarmament Conference." And yet the once bright hopes have undeniably changed to skepticism, and our own Congress opposed the appropriation of $450,000 to defray the expenses of our delegates to Geneva on the ground that it was useless expenditure since the Conference was already doomed to failure.

What has darkened the world's hopes? Japan's steady inroads upon Manchuria, and the apparent helplessness of the League, aided by the United States, to control the situation; the tragic turn of events in India since Gandhi's return from England and the almost inevitable bloodshed and violence that seem imminent; Presi-

dent Hoover's decision on the occasion of Premier Laval's visit that this Government would refuse the desired participation in guarantees for world peace; the rapidly growing power of the Hitlerites in Germany; Chancellor Bruening's formal notice served on the Allies that Germany was through paying reparations; France, visibly angered, prepared to adopt an iron-fisted nationalistic policy of its own; the action of Congress that no revision of the Allied indebtedness would be considered, in spite of the realization in Washington that these debts will never be paid; England's virtual endorsement of Japan's conquest of Manchuria and acceptance of Tokyo's promise to share money-making opportunities there as sufficient; and, most discouraging to lovers of peace in this country, the reported instructions to our American delegation that they were to present no program, but sit back and let the other countries lead in whatever is to be done. It is these things that have changed the whole atmosphere in which the Conference will convene, from hope to almost despair.

It is possible, however, to take the view that these conditions, bad and discouraging as they are, only constitute *the real reasons* why the Conference should be held just now, and why it should take real and decided action. If we are witnessing moral, economic and political deterioration, the armament system is largely to blame.

For the past six months the peace organizations have been holding meetings throughout the country in the interest of disarmament. Hundreds of thousands have been addressed in public meetings and millions by radio broadcasting. Literature on the subject has been widely distributed. Debates, forums, pulpits, and conferences have been reiterating the message of World Peace. The minds of multitudes have been awakened and they are ready to go a long way on this question.

The Governments are making a mistake if they think the people are not ready for disarmament. They are ready. The Governments led their peoples into war. They can also lead them into peace if they will.

J. H. R.

THE COMMON MESSAGE OF THE WORLD'S GREAT TEACHERS

The Twentieth Century and the Message

by

Hugh McCurdy Woodward

Department of Philosophy of Education, Brigham Young University

Chapter I—(Concluded)

Confronted with this more or less chaotic condition in ideals and moral standards, the alert mind naturally asks: "Is there a philosophy existent which will help man solve these vital problems? If so, where is it to be found? Is there a philosophy which has stood the pragmatic test over any considerable period of the world's history and which is capable of appealing to the best thought of this technical and scientific age?"

The assumption that there is such a philosophy is the motivation behind this little volume. The philosophy in question is a summary of the common message of the world's most outstanding teachers. The author offers this presentation to the reading public as a humble attempt at a brief statement of the fundamental essence of that message.

The teachers referred to have all been great leaders in human thought. Their teachings have inspired millions and have been the basis of creeds, cults, isms, philosophies and world religions. Unlike thousands of other teachers, they have not disappeared after a brief period of notoriety. Their influence persists and grows in importance over centuries of time in the minds of millions. Named in order of the time of their supposed appearance among men, they are: The Indian Christ, Krishna of early Hinduism; Lao Tze of China, the inspiration of Taoism; Zarathustra or Zoroaster, the

teacher of the Zoroastrian system of philosophy and the prophet of the Parsi faith; Guatama Buddha, the founder of the world's most populous religion; Confucius, the master moralist of China, and Jesus of Nazareth, the inspiration of Christianity.

Age alone is, of course, no guarantee that a philosophy is true. It can, however, be urged with some degree of certainty that philosophies which have been the inspiration of millions and which have served as the basis of institutions, religions, and civilizations of the most enlightened peoples of history, must have something in them worthy of careful study.

Two reasons have determined the choice of the teachers listed above: First, the fundamental nature of the philosophies they proclaim, and second, the great similarity which exists between these philosophies. During the last few years many students have become impressed with the striking similarity which exists between these six world philosophies. Alfred W. Martin, author of "Comparative Religion and the Religion of the Future," after describing the bibles and sacred literature, supposed to contain the teachings of these men, says: "Such was the material available for the science of comparative religion which, proceeding by the orderly method of observation and classification, brought to light a succession of surprising and significant revelations, culminating in the supreme revelation of a oneness of religions which transcends their differences."

H. G. Wells in his "Outline of History," speaking of the similarity in these great religions, mentions the fact that there are many things in the teachings of Jesus which the "ordinary respectable citizen could not accept without the most revolutionary changes in his way of living." "Yet" says he, "there was nothing that a follower of the actual teachings of Gautama Sakya might not receive very readily, nothing to prevent a primitive Buddhist from being also a Nazarene, and nothing to prevent a personal disciple of Jesus from accepting all the recorded teachings of Buddha." Continuing, Mr. Wells states: "This essential identity is the most important historical aspect of these great world religions."

For a number of years the author has been deeply impressed with the striking resemblance in the teachings of these masters. As

his interest and research in the sacred literature of these religions have deepened, he has become more and more convinced that their ability to endure is due to a great common message of truth concerning life's most vital problems—a common message which runs through and forms the basis of them all.

Why this striking similarity should exist between teachers so widely separated in time and location is indeed one of the interesting facts of human life. It is a fact not easy to explain. Is it a matter of common origin of these philosophies? Is it due to a search for truth on the part of great minds delving into the mysteries of their own souls, bringing all to a common understanding of life's most vital principles? Or as some would ask, are these common principles the results of man's findings through countless ages of experimentation? It is not the purpose of this book to account for this phenomenon. All that is attempted in this presentation is to set forth from the literature of these religions the fundamental principles common to them all, and to discuss these principles in the light of present day needs.

Throughout the book these men are referred to as masters, master minds, the world's great teachers, and as masters of wisdom. These titles are used not because what has been said thus far has proved these men worthy of the same, but because they are so considered by the thousands and millions who honor and worship them.

In this day of moral skepticism and moral doubt when every system of thought is subject to the most searching investigation, is it not a timely question to ask ourselves, what it is in these philosophies which has enabled them to appeal to the reason and imagination of millions and has caused them to endure so well the test of time?

It will not be questioned that this age is in need of a philosophy which can unify the divergent mental life and bring order to the many conflicting interests. It would indeed be worth our search if, in the philosophies of these men, we should find a great common message for this twentieth century—a message that will bring solace and comfort to the troubled mind that today is found every-

where in the world asking: Where is the way of life? Is one life any better than another? Is there such a thing as good? Among the dissolving structures which have been erected to guide man, in the past, is there one left upon which my soul can rest its faith and build its life?

Do these masters have a message which will appeal to the conscience and reason of men trained in an age of scientific research and daring individualism? Do they have a message for those who have knocked down all their idols and now move listlessly about saying with the author of Ecclesiastes, "All is vanity." Is it possible that these masters have a common message that will still act as a guiding star to those honest, earnest, sincere souls who deserve the title of "True Scientists," those courageous minds seeking to know the laws of the physical universe, the mysteries of the spiritual world and the conditions in the moral and social order?

Can it be that these masters who have brought so much comfort to suffering humanity have a message that will help this world in its desperate attempt to understand itself? In an hour when all the elements of all civilizations seem to be thrown into a melting pot, do these masters of wisdom speak principles that if applied would bring organization to the hopelessly unorganized mass? In a time when sign boards pointing the way of life are as many and different as trees in a forest, do their teachings still represent the "way," the "path," and the "plan"?

It is the thesis of this work that there is such a message. Through its short chapters the reader is invited to listen to the world's great teachers upon a number of the most vital problems which now agitate the minds of men.

It is interesting to note that none of these men organized what could be called a church, but upon various interpretations of their philosophies thousands of creeds have been erected. One of the interesting phenomena of the world is the way different groups of people adjust differently to the same philosophy. It would be very difficult for a stranger to study the philosophy of Jesus by observing the practices and doctrines of the two hundred and some odd creeds which have claimed him as their inspiration. In these creeds

it is possible to find everything from the lowest paganism to the highest rational philosophy all claiming to follow him. It is the same with all of these men. Buddhism is very different in Japan from Buddhism in Siam. In certain groups in Japan, Buddha has been made the savior of the world. His grace is sufficient to save all men. The only thing necessary is to believe that he has this saving grace. In Siam he is thought of as a great enlightened soul who has found the way of life, but who is essentially the same as all other men.

All of these men have been made into gods. Three of them, Krishna, Buddha, and Jesus have become the saviors of mankind. Two of them, Krishna and Jesus, have been heralded as "the lamb slain before the foundation of the world." Many churches and cults have grown out of their teachings. The creeds which have developed from the philosophies of these six men number many hundred. Each has a sacred literature which is supposed to represent his teachings. The philosophy of Krishna is included in the four Vedas. The New Testament has become the sacred literature of the philosophy of Jesus. The Nikayas are supposed to include the original teachings of Buddha. The five Chinese classics, the teachings of Confucius; the Zenda-vesta, or more properly the Avesta, the teachings of Zoroaster; and the Tao Teh King contains the writings of Lao Tze. Two of them, Krishna and Jesus, are supposed to have been born of virgins. Stories of a miraculous conception are told in connection with them all.

Thousands upon thousands of monuments have been erected to them. Elaborate ritualistic systems have been formulated as a means of conveying what is supposed to be their teachings. Powerful priesthoods have been organized and function on the claim of representing their message. Interpretations of their teachings range from the most extreme doctrines of obedience to authority to the highest ideal of freedom and responsibility; from the most sordid enslavement of the human mind, represented in the doctrine of infallability, to the theory of the dependability of the enlightened conscience of the individual.

It is strange that so many varied and divergent systems could

come from the teachings of the same men, but it is nevertheless quite natural when one considers the wide range of intelligence which has adjusted to the teachings. It would seem that the more advanced the followers, the more these men are looked upon as great souls who have found the way of life and who are saying to the rest of mankind, "If you will do the works that I do, the things I do you can do." To this group the masters are men who have found divinity in their own souls by obedience to the constructive laws of their own nature. While on the other hand, it would appear that the lower the scale of intelligence of the worshiper the more these men are set up as unique personalities belonging to a different order. By these undeveloped groups, these teachers are made into gods and supergods. They become an inspiration by representing something entirely different, while with the more scientifically minded groups they become an inspiration by revealing to man the possibilities in his own soul.

It should be understood that there is no thought on the part of the author of making all these great systems identical. They differ in many ways. There is a striking individualism on the part of the teachers. They differ greatly in personality. Their methods of delivering their message vary from the retiring inactivity of Lao Tze to the daring vigor of the holy Nazarene. Jesus taught by parables. Buddha used more symbolism, while the Chinese philosophers made use of many proverbs. They stressed differently various parts of their message. The environment and times in which they taught were wholly different. There was a wide variation in the intellectual levels to which they addressed themselves. In some cases the systems and creeds which have developed out of their teachings scarcely resemble one another. This is equally true of the creeds that have developed from the teachings of the same man.

While it is easy to recognize a difference in the matter of emphasis, personality and method of presentation, there is running through all their teachings, like a golden thread, a great common message setting forth the fundamental life principles which constitute the "path," the "way" and the "plan" of the "Good Life."

(To be continued)

ORIENT AND OCCIDENT

by

HANS KOHN

Doctor Juris, University of Prague

(*Continued*)

II. THE POLITICAL PROBLEM

THE development of the state in countries under foreign control, like India, Egypt or Irak, has taken another and less violent course. Reforms have set in earlier here, but have never attained that boldness and far-reaching effect which is noticeable in Turkey, perhaps. But the more protracted ripening of tendencies towards the reformation of the state in the colonial provinces and protectorates of European powers (in which respect the British system has guaranteed a freer scope for development than the others) had this advantage, that the political reforms did not proceed so greatly in advance of the cultural and the social, but were supported and carried forward by the latter. For cultural and social transformation processes strike far more deeply into the traditional structure of oriental life than political changes do.

III. THE CULTURAL PROBLEM

Religion and Nation

"Everything that medieval man did was hedged about by ecclesiastical and religious ideas and demands. One can hardly realize today what this meant. Everything without any exception, was accomplished in accordance with these same ideas and demands: play-time and music, art and science, work and public activity." (Waldemar Mitscherlich). Until lately this statement was altogether true of oriental man also. The process which is going

on in the Orient at present is gradually substituting a national consciousness in the place of religion as the driving force of political and public activity. In this way the Orient is approaching the Occident in its social ideology. The process is still in the course of development in the Orient, in many places both tendencies are still struggling with each other for mastery; but in so far as it is possible to lay stress on a single element in the complexity of great historical processes in which many factors are constantly working together, similar incidents in the process in all oriental countries show that they have entered or are entering the era of nationalism. Out of a religious culture as the basis of life the nation arises as the vehicle of activity. The title which a Chinese author has chosen for a book describing the origin of modern China, *How a Civilization Became a Nation,* can be applied in the same way to India and to the countries of Islam. Within the boundaries of the state or within the boundaries of the uniform national consciousness, if the uniform nation is divided up into several states by the politics of European powers, the new principle unites citizens who have hitherto been widely separated by religious oppositions (and this always means, in the Orient, social and political oppositions as well). On the other hand, it is breaking up the unity of Islam just as it has broken up the unity of Christendom in Europe, even though a new feeling of homogeneity, based upon the acknowledgment of a common adversary and of the necessity of political solidarity, is taking the place of the old religiously-grounded Pan-Islamism in the Orient. S. Khuda Bukhsh, one of the leading Mohammedans of India, cites with assent the words of Wilson Cash: "The youth of Islam thinks today more in political than in religious terms. He is often much more interested in the growth of his nation than in the propagation of Islam. Today the solidarity of Islam is not a question of the caliphate or the sheriat, but almost exclusively a matter of political unification in the face of the West."

The Turkish national covenant of January 28, 1920, in entire accordance with national opinion, expressly gave up, in the first article, all claim to those parts of the Ottoman Empire in which a majority of the inhabitants were Arabs, thereby giving up Mecca

and Medina. The possession of these cities for a Mohammedan government and for the caliphate was of the greatest importance—an importance which Abdul Hamid had accentuated still more by the building of the Hejaz railway. In the same month the Indian delegation of the caliphate, calling on the Viceroy of India in behalf of Turkey, insisted that the caliph must retain control of the three holy cities of Islam, Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem, since otherwise peace would be unacceptable to every devout Mohammedan. Through a succession of laws since then Turkey has accomplished the complete secularization and nationalization of her government. Egypt did not go so far. In fact, a proposal of a Mohammedan scholar there, with a similar end in view, raised a storm of indignation in orthodox circles. But it is highly significant, in this connection, to note that the opposition between the Mohammedan majority of the country and the Christian-Coptic Egyptians, which was still very keen before the World War, has entirely disappeared. Copts have taken a leading part in the Egyptian national movement since 1918. The delegation of the Wafd ministry, which left for London in March, 1930, to conclude the British-Egyptian treaty—a delegation which had to fulfill the highest political mission the people could bestow—was composed of two Mohammedans and two Copts. One of the Copts, who has been foreign minister in every Wafd government, is the son of the late Boutros Ghali Pascha, the Coptic prime minister mortally hateful to Egyptian nationalists, who fell a victim to the assault of a Mohammedan student in 1910. In Syria, Palestine and Transjordania the national movement has united Mohammedans and Christians. Here the Christian intelligentsia often heads the radical wing of the nationalists. The Syrian national leader, Faris el Khuri of Damascus, could not be elected to the constituent national assembly in 1928 because he is a Protestant. When the French mandate authorities (intent upon maintaining the traditional lines of religious demarcation and preventing the rise of a modern national consciousness, and having for this reason set up special representation for the different religions at the election) fixed the representation from Damascus, with ten Mohammedan members, one Greek-Orthodox,

one Greek Catholic and one Jew, the Mohammedans in Damascus announced that they would give up their seats in favor of Faris el Khuri. The French high commissioner refused to permit this. In the same year a member of the Arabian Academy of Damascus, Said Abdallah Muhlis, published a work to show that Mohammedans and Christians have always lived together amicably in Islamic countries, and that their friendly intercourse was first disturbed through European intervention. The Arab kingdom of Iraq, as a sign of nationalism, has seen the bridging of the century-old, bitter opposition between Sunnites and Shiites. The Shiites came forth as advocates of independence for the country and were themselves ready to join the Sunnite Turks on this ground. In India nationalism seeks to unite Hindus and Mohammedans and to combat the ancient caste prejudice. In China and in India native Christians take an active part in the national movement. In Japan the national Shinto religion is encouraged in the interests of the government, in opposition to Buddhism. Renaissance movements in religion, like Wahabism in Islam, and Arya Samaj and the doctrine of Ramakrishna in India, awakened or strengthened nationalism. Reform movements in religion sought to bring religious activity into harmony with modern thought, often rationalizing religion in the process, by reaching back to the original tradition and opposing subsequent excrescences. The modern age began to be critically opposed to religion. But as it overthrew the old gods it set up for itself, in the same measure, new ones in nationalism. The new gods brought their new ritual, national hymns, colors and emblems, an interest in the people's past, their traditions, folk-songs and native art, and a new inspiration for the future. New creative and new destructive forces were awakened by their coming.

For oriental man, just as for medieval man, the field of religious activity was the fundamental social determinant which, on the whole, made him what he was. During the Nineteenth Century a critical attitude towards religion set in. This enlightenment spread throughout the upper classes of oriental society in all countries, with results similar to those Bernhard Groethuysen has pointed out in connection with the rise of the new middle-class philosophy and

attitude towards life in France in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. In the meantime the great masses of the people remained untouched by this process, just as they did at the beginning of the French Revolution, when the Archbishop of Toulouse, as a member of the national assembly, could say that in France there were "still entire classes who have not a single presentiment of all the tendencies at work among them to destroy orthodoxy." In view of this, the point at issue among the enlightened classes of the Orient is not a crisis in Islamism, in Hinduism or in Confucianism, and an approach to Christianity, but a crisis in religion itself. Out of such a crisis, on the analogy of what happened in Europe, a reformed Islamism or Hinduism will result, which certainly will no longer extend its influence into all public and private departments of life, but will withdraw to those restricted private spheres which religion formed for itself in Europe in the Nineteenth Century.

The critical attitude towards religion led also to a revaluation of traditional points of view and standards of living, and frequently to an adoption of European customs. On the other hand there were European scholars who brought to light once more the old civilizations of the Nile Valley, Mesopotamia and India, and taught even the backward descendants of those civilizations to recognize their value. Fifty years ago the significance of being an Egyptian, even this name itself, was unknown to Egypt's present inhabitants. The fellahin characterized themselves as Mohammedans. Now the national Egyptian government has decided to erect a monument at the tomb of its great leader Zaghlul, not in the style of Islamic Egypt but in the style of the ancient Pharaohs. The word "Turk," fifty years ago in the Ottoman Empire a term of contempt for uneducated peasants, has become a title of respect. The younger generation in Turkey, like the younger generation in Persia, is attempting to revive pre-Islamic names and traditions. Thus the permeation of modern thought, coming from the West and repeating in the Orient a process which has already run its course in the Occident, is having a double effect: it is Europeanizing, but it is also awakening at the same time the selfconsciousness of the Orient

and the knowledge of its opposition to Europe.

The Mission of the West

The penetration of the West into the Orient takes place in successive stages. In the first stage, single individuals of the East who are intellectually active are affected by the spiritual and material wealth of the West, and by the power of western activity, and set out to interpret and adapt these things to their countrymen, without so much as suspecting that their acceptance must result in reorganization processes striking deep into the heart of society. The first Oriental to turn to the Occident was the great Hindu, Ram Mohan Roy, who founded the first Hindu college in Calcutta in 1816. This college was the first seat of European education in the Orient ever established by natives. In the secluded world of the Orient Ram Mohan Roy opened a window towards Europe. Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan, who started the Anglo-Oriental college in Aligarh for the Mohammedans of India, did not follow him until after 1850. This first generation of "westernists" in the Orient was filled with liberal European ideas and willingly acknowledged the cultural superiority of Europe. Their ideal was to produce, through education and reforms, a society in the Orient similarly advanced. These "westernists" harmonized in many ways similar tendencies amongst the Russians during the past century. The Russians, too, had since the Napoleonic wars their "modernists" like Turgenyef trying to Europeanize the Czar's Empire. Against them were ranged the "easternists," who were partly disposed towards the old tradition and orthodoxy, and made a vain attempt to bolster up the old spirit and social order and the authority of orthodox religion, and were in part ethically romantic, like Gandhi, but were nevertheless influenced by European critics of the western order and culture, such as Tolstoi, Ruskin or Thoreau. Criticism of the "easternists" was an effective counterpoise against the too strong enthusiasm for the West which characterized the first ingenuous modern rationalist in the Orient. But the westernists of a later generation, who were quite ready to appropriate for themselves Europe's technique and culture, but who deduced from them the

doctrine of national self-assertion against Europe, soon gained the upper hand. In China the attempt was made to retain the Chinese culture and take over only European military organization and technique. But it was soon evident that this attempt (which could succeed in Japan and Siam, in much simpler circumstances, and would have succeeded in China, perhaps, if the Taiping dynasty had not been overthrown with the aid of the English) could not be carried out without a revolution in political and social spheres—a revolution requiring a further and further surrender of ancient Chinese cultural endowments until, out of this complete revolution, the synthetic reorganization of Chinese civilization could begin to develop.

The westernists of the first generation had been almost defenseless under the pressure of European ideas. "So overwhelming was the weight of western thought that in the second developmental stage of the new Turkish literature (about 1876) the remnants of oriental esthetics were not only rejected altogether, but the philosophy of the Turkish-Moslem world was so largely discredited that the Turkish literature of the period was hardly anything more than a copy of contemporary French literature in the Turkish language." (Richard Hartmann). In this stage a western literature was arising in the Orient, new styles of art were being formulated, the press was receiving an impetus, and the invention of the art of printing was generally coming into its own for the first time. All this was being intensified and was beginning to permeate the masses and to create for itself an ever wider field of influence and activity as the later generations of westernists assumed the lead under the slogan of nationalism Now the imperialistic powers rely in many ways upon the last representatives of the first liberal generation of westernists and upon the reactionary and conservative elements at the same time. This contrast in the cultural sphere recurs in the social sphere, where its true meaning will be revealed. Also, the imperialistic powers seek to turn nationalism to their own advantage wherever it exists and to play off national and religious minorities against the majority. The Republic of Lebanon, for example, owes its existence to these tendencies. Arnold J. Toynbee,

one of the best European authorities on recent world politics in the Islamic Orient, calls special attention to these tendencies in the mandate areas formerly Turkish; but what he says applies just as well to all countries in which European imperialism has control or is seeking to gain it: "A mandate government which could count on neither the consent of the majority of the governed in the mandate area nor the willingness of its own citizens to sacrifice life and money for the carrying out of the mandate, was certainly under a strong temptation to further its strategic aims by making use of local minorities which were loyal to it because they were foreign to the majority of their countrymen. Nevertheless, this policy was almost sure to be a short-sighted one; for even if it lightened the military burdens of the mandate government for the time being, it still threatened, in the long run, to perpetuate the emnity between the groups living together within the mandated area, and so made the problem of administration more difficult than ever." The advance of the imperialistic powers is awakening nationalism as a natural reaction among a constantly increasing number of oriental peoples. Resistance is growing in the East. At the same time the hold of the West is likewise weakening. The thesis of the absolute superiority of western ways of living and thinking is becoming untenable for the West itself. It is opening its mind to the beauty and wisdom of eastern philosophy, and the political consciousness of some of its younger generation is beginning to condemn imperialism.

(*To be continued*)

NICHOLAS ROERICH'S PLAN FOR WORLD PEACE

by

FRANCES R. GRANT

Vice-President, Roerich Museum

ON the eve of the International Conference of the Union International Pour le Pacte Roerich at Bruges, there appeared a story in the *New York Times,* relating that all the Flemish matrons of that city of many memories were assiduously sitting up nights sewing strips of red and white bunting into American Flags in honor to Nicholas Roerich and the country from which the plan of the Roerich Banner of Peace for the protection of the world's art treasures had emanated. Never, according to the *Times* correspondent, since the day when American soldiers landed in Europe, had there been such an array of American flags in this Flemish city, nor was it so deeply drawn towards America.

Thus, the city of the Van Dycks and Memlings, paid its tribute to that great spirit, Nicholas Roerich, whose indefatigable labors for World Peace through Culture have re-stated themselves once again in the Banner of Peace plan, which reinvests with new force the title already given him as one of the supremely great leaders of world peace today.

In the Bruges Conference, which gathered together four hundred delegates from cultural and learned bodies of many countries, and from government officials, many results which assume epochal importance in this plan of Peace through Culture might be mentioned—notably the formation of a permanent body comprising some of Europe's great cultural leaders to further the adoption of

this movement. But for the moment I have especially pointed out the incident of the flags, because its simple earnestness seems to me to touch some very deep and essential principle between the relation of man to man and nation to nation—the contagion of goodwill based upon a common appreciation of beauty and culture.

It is this basic principle of peace and culture which forms the premise of Nicholas Roerich's plan, and which constitutes for him a solvent of our international relationships. Because in the search for Peace, Roerich looks for prophylaxes; culture, in its broadest and most superb sense, alone, can transmute the human consciousness, and this transmutation is the only guarantee for human unity. For forty-three years Roerich has been urging the practical and immediate application of a conviction which science has recently expressed when Sir James Jean says that "the material world is probably derivative from consciousness, not consciousness from the material world."

At this moment, Roerich's Peace Plan for international understanding through culture and beauty, allows for special analysis for several reasons. For one thing, this month sees the celebration of the Decade of the Institutions founded by Roerich in America. And secondly, it sees the issuance of his book, "Realm of Light" which pronounces, in its most forceful manner, this conviction, sounded with the corroboration of forty-three years of experience.

To see the true evolution of Roerich's plan, one might go back over Roerich's entire forty-three years of artistic and educational life. In doing so, one would be immediately cognizant of the fact that Roerich never theorizes, he immediately makes practical application of his ideals, in measures which are aimed to transmute disintegrating forces into uniting ones.

In the Roerich Museum, with its multiple facets, there is a synthesis of this entire plan, which indicates the wide directions which Roerich's service to Peace touches, and the conscious aim of reaching and permeating all factors of life.

Hence, it has always seemed to me profoundly logical and bearing significantly on this peace plan, that Roerich's first foundation in the Roerich Museum should have been the Master Institute

for uniting the teaching of all the arts. Aiming to fuse people through culture, who would themselves be cognizant of essential unity. In the Master Institute, he at once sought to dissolve the arbitrary barriers set up between the arts, very often by the artists themselves. "Art is one—indivisible. Art is the manifestation of the coming synthesis." This is his call to the creator and to the student, those future creators of beauty, whom he aims to unite in a Legion.

From the individual, Roerich passes to the masses in the second field of work touched by his plan, the International Art Center of Roerich Museum, which seeks to create a common kinship through the interchange of art, and through exhibitions which have not only presented artists of this country, but have brought to America the creative products of countries heretofore often culturally inexistent in the American consciousness. A service no less necessary has been carried on by the International Art Center, in acquainting other countries of Europe, Asia and Latin America of the aspirations of America in the fields of culture. This interchange has been carried on not only here in the International Art Center, but the latter has cooperated with the museums, the public schools, the public libraries, even prisons, in these itinerary exhibitions. Hence, even the social misfit has not been overlooked in Roerich's plan for these exhibitions, because as he says: "Bring art to the prisons—and you will have no more prisons."

In his present work at Urusvati, Himalayan Research Institute of Roerich Museum, in Naggar, the Western Himalayas, this essential unity—now of the arts and sciences, and of the various branches of science—provides the eloquent vehicle of his ideal. Urusvati, the Himalayan Research Institute is of course to be regarded as an essential and inevitable outgrowth of the Roerich Central Asiatic Expedition, made by Roerich through Ladak, Chinese Turkestan, Mongolia, and Tibet. This Roerich Expedition with its record of sacrifices, is one of the most stupendous searches not only for the origins of human life and human culture, but especially for the unities of human origins. One of the most telling utterances in Roerich's record of the Expedition, "Altai Hima-

laya," on discovering the Megalithic monuments of Central Asia, so analagous to Stone Henge and Carnac, are the lines: "It is a thrilling thing to hold the end of an enchanted cord in Great Britain and find the beginning of it in Central Asia." To him one of the greatest features of these remains, together with the remarkable remnants of migratory evidences which he discovered, is their revelation of the interweaving of all nations and racial life. Everywhere in the results of his trip, one is aware of his repeated emphasis and concern to find the threads which connect human traditions, whether they be of East or West, because in this way he is able to link the foundations and to indicate how arbitrary, in truth, are the barriers erected by prejudice and intolerance.

It is this same unity, which permeates the plan for Urusvati, Himalayan Research Institute in the Himalayas. There, Professor Roerich, deeply inspired by the endless possibilities of scientific research offered by Asia, founded the Himalayan Research Institute, donating its headquarters in the Kulu Valley. Vital to its aims of advancing the outposts of knowledge, is the creation of an Institute where scientists of *all* nations, and in *every branch of science* can, in a common concern for the well-being of mankind, create and construct side by side. After three years of work, this Institute indicates its splendid growth. With Professor Roerich, its President-Founder, and Dr. George Roerich, eminent Orientalist as its Director, already American, British, Hindu and Tibetan scientists are working there together to explore the fields of medicine, of cancer, of biology, astro-chemistry, archaeology. Already numerous American and European scientific bodies have profited from its collections of flora and other material; and national and cultural walls have been razed in a common work.

The Roerich Society, which completes the unit, forges an extended chain of unification. This Society, aimed to spread Professor Roerich's ideas for Culture and Peace, now has forty-eight branches in twenty countries—a true fraternity of Culture.

These many facets of the Roerich Museum have their corollary in Nicholas Roerich's plan for the Banner of Peace. After several years since its first promulgation by Professor Roerich, the plan

shows its dynamism and vitality of application. Since its inception, the Roerich Peace Pact and Banner of Peace have been unanimously endorsed by the International Museums' Committee of the League of Nations, by the General Federation of Women's Clubs of America, by His Holiness Pope Pius XI, by such members of the International Peace Court as its President, Dr. M. Adatci, Dr. Bustamante, Baron Michel de Taube and others, as well as by H. H. King Albert of Belgium, and the adherence of numerous cities of Belgium, France, Italy, Latvia, as well as the Academie Française, and numerous other cultural bodies. Thus the project of international vigilance for Culture has already made its appeal among widely different spheres.

One thing, however, should be emphasized in the Roerich plan for the Banner of Peace—it is not a project designed primarily as a protective measure *for* war, but a measure *against* war. Writers, in expressing themselves concerning the Roerich Banner of Peace and Peace Pact, have emphasized it as a factor in preventing the destruction of the world treasures of art in times of war. It is true that this constitutes one phase of the plan—one which is, of necessity, especially brought out in the Roerich Peace Pact and which concerns itself with the application of the project in wartime—thus the Pact outlines that the Banner of Peace should wave over monuments, cathedrals, universities, museums, to signalize their inviolability during moments of peace, and as with the Red Cross, identify these monuments as neutral territory.

This aspect of Nicholas Roerich's plan, cannot be regarded apart from its great prophylactic aims. Roerich's plan is highly constructive. In addition to signalizing as neutral all monuments of the world's culture, it aims to catalogue, to preserve in descriptive and photographic record for posterity, complete data regarding the world's cultural treasures, also to inaugurate peace education in the schools through greater international cultural appreciation. It aims to gather the forces of culture through the world in a common vigilance, against the destruction of the records of human genius—to unite men in a Legion of Culture. In other words to make those forces who realize the disaster to world culture, which

war brings in its wake, a united force in a common cause of safeguarding the steps of cultural evolution.

This plan has been a concern of Professor Roerich for years, and the history of its roots, as spoken by Nicholas Roerich is highly interesting. In an interview regarding the origin of the Banner of Peace, Professor Roerich says: "The idea of protection of cultural treasures of humanity preoccupied me since the very beginning of my activities. Already in 1904 addressing the Society of Architect artists in St. Petersberg, I outlined this idea, calling attention to the tragic condition of many state architectural monuments. My extensive travels to ancient monasteries and historical cities, also the archaeological excavations in such important places as Novgorod and other regions linked with most ancient traditions gave me rich material to affirm the undeferrable necessity for urgent measures to protect cultural treasures. Afterwards in 1914, after the destruction of the Library of Louvain I made a similar report to the late Commander-in-Chief, Grand Duke Peter. Both reports met with great sympathy and only such extraordinary havoc as the war prevented its immediate development. Then as President of the Exhibition of Allied Nations where Flemish, French, British arts and those of other allied nations were beautifully represented, I again had happy opportunity to propound this idea and was convinced that sooner or later the protection of cultural treasures would become a sacred reality in the world.

"With new ardor these thoughts preoccupied me when we were compelled to witness no longer the vandalism of warfare, but vandalism in times of peace. For an untrained eye it is even impossible to imagine how many unrepeatable cultural treasures are exposed to danger and to perish without leaving a trace. One of our foremost duties is to apply all our efforts to direct the public attention to their real treasures. Each day brings news of some new destructions. We are already imbued with the idea that precious monuments must not be removed and should be safeguarded on their own sites, the more so because today possibilities of locomotion make even the remotest places accessible. I am deeply convinced that universal attention will be paid to the cultural treasures,

and as its symbol, the universally uniting Banner will offer a profound and absolute service to the cultural development of peoples."

This plan is outlined in highly dramatic and powerful form in Professor Roerich's latest work, "Realm of Light," in his sixty addresses to various Roerich Societies as well as to various other organizations. We see that his idea of "Peace through Culture" is by no means a nebulous phrase. It is a very definite credo of human construction. How definite it is, is beautifully touched on in an address to the Young Men's Buddhist Association of Colombo when he says of Peace that it signifies "an unceasing construction,' and of Culture, that it means "an eternal cognizance and betterment of life through the foundations of glorious progress.'

Thus laboring in the current of evolution is the plan of Professor Roerich for World Peace through Culture. These ten years have already seen a chain forming around the world. The Legion of Culture to which Roerich calls, is no longer a visionary body. It exists, it pursues its labor, its results must inevitably be witnessed. Because the contagion of peace can be spread in ardent and passionate enthusiasm for beauty. For America these ten years of tireless achievement by Nicholas Roerich once again signalize an invincible, a tireless leadership in this Peace quest for international culture. His call to its service sounds out again in his article "Banner of Peace," when he says: "Verily, the protection of treasures of Culture belongs among those all-unifying foundations which permit us to gather in friendship without petty feelings of envy and malice.

"We are tired of destructions and negations. Positive creativeness is the fundamental quality of the human spirit. In our life everything that uplifts and ennobles our spirit must hold the dominant place. The milestones of the glorious path must from childhood impel our spirit to the beautiful future. Be assured it is not a truism to speak about the undeferrable and urgent strivings of culture."

CECIL DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE
PARIS, NOVEMBER 26-27, 1931

by

AMY WOODS

Vice-Chairman, United States Section
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

THE International Disarmament Congress held in Paris last week has received so much sensational publicity that I am hurrying this letter back to the United States to tell, as best I may, some of the outstanding features of the speeches and to explain undercurrents which have not appeared in the press. This may help to place peace workers in a better position to counter random criticism that may be current for some time to come.

The purpose of the Congress was to bring together the leaders of the great political, social, religious and cultural organizations of many nations and so to give expression to the feeling of the peoples in all lands in favor of a substantial reduction of armaments by international agreement.

The invitation received wide spread response from people of highest authority in the peace field throughout the world. Many made a supreme effort to be present. Mr. Houghton formerly American Ambassador to Germany after the war came expressly to Paris to speak at the evening meeting and sailed for home the following day. Frederick Libby was here less than a week. There were 1,043 delegates registered from 30 countries representing 362 organizations.

I personally attended all four sessions of the Congress and several other meetings at which the substance of the proceedings was discussed.

The Public meeting at the Trocadéro Friday evening did not begin well. It was obvious, the moment that Monsieur Herriot came

to the front of the platform that a frame up was in prospect. The house had been sold out several days before. My delegate's ticket took me to the gallery and to the center of the confusion. In the high arched boxes above were crowds of boys too young to have experienced war and bent solely upon carrying out a premeditated rough house. Their shouting showed no personal ire or conviction. The fighting ran intermittently from box to box and occasionally took fire in the general audience in the balcony, but for the most part, there was no sign of hostility around me than that which the boys created themselves. There was no fear expressed in any part of the house—only disgusted attempts to stop the shouting so that the speakers might be heard. Most of the delegates filled the stage and the front rows of the floor. They were able to hear much that the speakers said. In the balcony no one could catch a word. Only the listeners tuning in over radios from every country got the full sense of the speeches distinctly against a background of almost continuous din. The next morning a Parisian householder told me that she and her husband sitting in their own home heard every word including Borah's speech from Washington which reached the hall in an impossible jumble of sounds.

Monsieur Herriot and Monsieur Jouvenal found it impossible to silence their compatriots, but only the message from the Mutilés et Anciens Combattants and the speech of Mr. Houghton were absolutely prohibited. In fact the speech of Joos of Germany was the least interfered with.

The police were there in numbers but made no effort to bring about order and they obviously assisted the rowdies to rush the stage after M. Jouvenal had finished the last speech on the program.

Saturday Paris was desolé—and the responsibility of the disorder was laid upon Coty the rich perfumer, who with his millions controls several papers and heads the bitterest right wing of the nationalists. His is a small noisy group. Although he is able to plaster Paris with posters under the name of L'ami du peuple his followers have been unable to return even one delegate to the Chamber of Deputies.

Lord Cecil with his British traditions behind him, urged that

this meeting be opened freely to the public, while the French members of the congress committee favored distribution of seats through the peace organizations that are sufficiently numerous and varied in Paris so that the hall might easily have been filled with an entire audience that would have given a courteous hearing.

The Congress having been turned into more or less political channels tried to keep the middle ground and so failed to get the support of either the right wing nationalists or the left wing internationalists.

Perhaps as the Hittlerites awoke the world disagreeably to the need for immediate action on disarmament, so this episode in Paris will give France timely warning that nationalism is a two edged weapon too dangerous to use.

THIS PRAYING WORLD

by

JOHN WILLIAM KITCHING
Author of "Azrubaal and Lamorna," etc.

III

Babylon

"I, thy servant, full of sighs, cry unto thee.
Thou acceptest the fervent prayer of him who is burdened with sin.
Thou lookest upon a man and that man lives
O potentate of the world, mistress of mankind!
Merciful one, to whom it is good to turn, who accepteth supplication!
Besides thee there is no god who guideth aright.
Look with true favor upon me and accept my supplication
Declare 'how long' (I am to wait), and let thy liver be pacified.
When, O my mistress, will thy face be turned?
Like the doves do I moan, in sighs do I abound."

This prayer belongs to the same period of time namely 2000 B.C., but is a Babylonian prayer.

A deep note of penitence runs throughout its entire length which is very appealing.

The "liver" was supposed to be the seat of the Soul. This prayer of penitence was probably offered to Ishtar the fierce goddess of the Babylonians.

IV

Chaldea

"O Eternal Ruler! Lord of the Universe!

Grant that the name (i.e. life) of the King whom thou lovest,
Whose name thou hast mentioned (i.e. called to the throne) may flourish as seems good to thee
Guide him on the right path
I am the ruler who obeys thee, the creation of thy hand,
It is thou who hast created me,
And thou hast entrusted to me sovereignty over mankind
According to thy mercy, O Lord, which thou bestowest upon all,
Cause me to love thy supreme rule.
Implant the fear of thy divinity in my heart,
Grant to me whatsoever may seem good before thee,
Since it is thou that dost control my life."

The above is a prayer of Nebuchadnezzar to the god Marduk, on his ascension to the throne of Babylon.

Nebuchadnezzar, the great King of the Chaldeans, was the son of Nabopalasser and after the death of his father (604 B.C.), he reigned over Babylonia until his own death, in 562 B.C. During the latter part of his father's life he was sent against the Egyptian general, Necho, whom he defeated at Carchemish (605 B.C.). He returned to his own Kingdom in 604, besieged Jerusalem in 597, destroying the city and exiling nearly 4,000 Jews (586); subdued Tyre after a siege of thirteen years; and later invaded and plundered Egypt. It is, however, rather as a builder than as a warrior that Nebuchadnezzar is remembered.

In the variety, extent, magnificence and completeness of his buildings he excels all other rulers of that land. He restored to Babylon its former glory, so ruthlessly destroyed by Sennacherib and so added to it as to make it renowned throughout the world.

"The prayers of Nebuchadnezzar represent perhaps, the best that has been attained in this branch of religious literature. Returning to the above dedication prayer to Marduk, addressed by the King on the occasion of his mounting the throne, one cannot fail to be struck by the high sense of the importance of his station with which the King is inspired. Sovereignty is not a right that he

can claim—it is a trust granted to him by Marduk. He holds his great office not for purposes of self-glorification but for the benefit of his subjects. In profound humility he confesses that what he has, he owes entirely to Marduk. He asks to be guided so that he may follow the path of righteousness. Neither riches nor power constitute his ambition, but to have the fear of his lord in his heart." (Jastrow, Religion of Babylonia and Assyria, Pp. 298-299). "Upon completing the restoration of a temple to Nin Karrak or Gula in Sippar," he prays,—

"Nin Karrak, lofty goddess, look with favor upon the work of my hands.
Mercy towards me be the command of thy lips.
Long life, abundance of strength.
Health and joy, grant to me as a gift.
In the presence of Shamash and Marduk cause my deeds to be regarded with favor.
Command grace for me."

A prayer of Nebuchadnezzar addressed to Shamash, upon restoring the great temple of Sippar, E-babbara, runs,—

"O Shamash, great lord, upon entering joyfully into thy glorious temple E-babbara,
Look with favor upon my precious handiwork,
Mercy towards me be thy command;
Through thy righteous order, may I have abundance of strength
Long life, and a firm throne, grant to me
May my rule last forever!
With a righteous sceptre of blissful rulership,
With a legitimate staff, bringing salvation to mankind adorn my sovereignty forever
With strong weapons for the prey, protect my soldiers;
Then O Shamash, by oracle and dream, answer me correctly!
By thy supreme command, which is unchangeable,
May my weapons advance and strike and overthrow the weapons of the enemies."

(*To be continued*)

WHY EAST AND WEST ARE DIFFERENT

by

GROVER CLARK

Consultant on Far Eastern Affairs

(*Continued*)

THUS great value came to be attached to human life as such, among the hunters. The idea took deep root that the flame of life should be kept burning at any price just as long as possible, without reference to the comfort of the individual or to the consideration of whether the individual thus kept alive might not be a social burden rather than an asset even if he did partially recover. In the main, this unquestionably worked out to the benefit of the group when the groups were small, and when the means for keeping people alive were few so that the radically unfit would die in any case. But it is by no means so certain that the modern West has been wise in continuing to put this idea so universally and so painstakingly into practice, now that the West itself is getting filled up with people. Many signs indicate that a change of attitude is coming.

XI

"East is East and West is West," and, as things stand today, they are fundamentally different—not because of inborn capacities which make one race superior or inferior to another but because of fundamental differences in the conditions under which for thousands of years the ancestors of the present-day peoples of the East and West lived. Nor do these differences indicate that, *per se,* either way of life is better than the other. There is no final criterion by which to judge.

But East and West are meeting. We today are well along in the most recent of the great waves of expansion of the hunting

peoples out of the North of the Eurasian continent. In many details, this expansion of which we of the modern West are a part differs from its predecessors. Yet fundamentally history is repeating itself.

Driven out of the North by pressure of expanding populations, and lured on by tales of ease and splendor in the agricultural lands to the South, hordes of crude but energetic hunting peoples have moved down in conquering waves on to these more peaceful regions. They have conquered, and destroyed much in the conquering. But their unexpended energies, working on the resources of their new lands, produced brilliant developments of civilization. Each great wave brought such a re-creation after the period of destruction—re-creation which lifted civilization to a new and higher level. In each case, however, the creative period was followed by stagnation when the energy bred of the forests had been dissipated in the fields. Then came a new wave out of the North, repeating the process.

Several times this process has been repeated, back into the dimmest beginnings of history and before. The civilizations of Crete and Sumeria and Egypt, of the Chow Dynasty in China, of the Rig Veddha period in India—they came into being when the barbarian hunters of one thousand-year-long wave out of the North began to civilize themselves. Greece and Rome were the products of another such wave; and the Hans and Tangs in China.

Then came stagnation, and a new wave. The Vandals and Huns, the Vikings and Normans, the ravaging hordes of Tamburlaine and Ghenghis and Kublai Khan, the Manchus and the Moguls, the discoverers and settlers of the American continents in these modern days, the merchants and missionaries adventuring into the Far East—these, and those that have followed, have been wavelets on the surface of the most recent of the great waves of expansion out of the North of Europe and Asia.

This wave, like its predecessors, has brought much destruction, and no little re-creation. Today the destructive phase, which began in Europe with the Renaissance, is well along but still, probably, not at its apogee. Civilization has been raised to a new level, higher

than anything which has gone before.

So far, history has been repeating itself in essentials, though this wave of expansion, in numbers involved, in territory covered, in destruction done, in constructive results already achieved, has been on a far larger scale than any of its predecessors.

It is interesting to speculate whether history will go on repeating itself. Is "the decline of the West' at hand? Have we come to the beginning of "the passing of the great race"? Will the energy of this drive burn itself out in due course, and civilization settle down into another long period of stagnation caused by the conditions which produced stagnation following the conquest of agricultural lands by hunters in the past?

If so, this final stage will be nothing more than the rounding out of another cycle of stagnation, destructive conquest, re-creation lifting civilization to a higher level—and stagnation again. History will repeat itself fully.

This is a very real possibility. Even in the relatively modern West, wherever conditions of comparative long settlement and congested population have developed—i.e., wherever the fundamental conditions of the typical agricultural lands have appeared—the typically agricultural relation of the single person to the group, with all that is part of the situation out of which that relation grows, also has developed. Indications are many, in the West today, that the filling up of the lands with people has brought marked changes in fundamental attitudes toward life, toward society and toward the individual—changes away from those of the hunters toward those of the agriculturists.

For all the brilliant development of modern science and the Machine Age, it is by no means certain that history will not continue to repeat itself, and mankind once more settle back into a period of stagnation.

But what then? There are no more barbarian hunters to sweep down out of the North, break up the stagnation of the thickly-settled lands, and start a new cycle of progress.

Mankind therefore would seem doomed, in the long future, to an unbroken tranquility of stagnation, with a few living in de-

generating luxury and the many toiling hopelessly through their valueless lives.

Except for one factor: this turn of the age-long cycle in which we are today sharing, has seen modern scientific development bring into play certain fundamentally new forces in the relation of men to each other and to the world in which they live. Has mankind, through this means, reached the point where it can see its own road with sufficient clarity and control its own destiny with sufficient effectiveness to direct its future development into a new and straight and continuously rising course?

It is interesting to speculate. Meanwhile, we today are vitally concerned with understanding the reasons for the differences between the East and the West so that, understanding, we may the better control and direct our future.

(Concluded)

THE STUPIDITY OF THE SWORD

by

JOHN HERMAN RANDALL, JR.

Department of Philosophy, Columbia University

WE are familiar these days with the contention that war is wrong: the moral pacifists have been numerous and convincing. We are still more familiar with the discovery that it is brutal and destructive: sentimental pacifism is widespread in these piping days of peace, as sentimental militariasm was rife amidst the alarums of battle. We have come to feel that war is, or should be—we are not quite sure which—essentially inhuman. But the inhumanity of war is apt to suggest to us the latest war movie or war novel, full of blood and stench and dirt and vermin. It is therefore highly stimulating to come upon a book which insists that the basic inhumanity of war is not immorality, nor yet again its cruelty, but its stupidity; that the sword renders them that take it, and them that put their faith in the taking of it, and the civilizations in which it is eagerly grasped, increasingly weak in brains. In a general way we have long suspected that soldiers, and especially brass hats, are not highly intellectual men. We have, however, been prone to credit them with a certain degree of intelligence, a certain low cunning within their own mystery: they may know nothing else, but at least they know the art of warfare. Now comes Mr. Esmé Wingfield-Stratford, in his *They That Take the Sword,*[1] to tell us that we have been all wrong, that soldiers are as stupid within the profession of arms as they manifestly are in the other walks of life, and to cite chapter and verse to prove it.

Mr. Wingfield-Stratford knows whereof he speaks. He comes from a line of British soldiers; his father was a Brigadier-General,

1—Esmé Wingfield-Stratford, *They That Take the Sword.* Wm. Morrow & Co. xviii, 424 pp. $4.00.

his brother a Major, he himself served as Captain. He is thus by birthright a member of the English *noblesse de l'épée.* He belongs by education as well; he went through the proper *cursus honorum* at Eton and King's College, Cambridge. But then by some strange chance he turned to the London School of Economics, and he has of late blossomed forth as a social historian of wide horizons and deep erudition. He knows the military profession and the military mind from within, and he knows the record of its dubious achievements in history. He writes with a fine passion, and yet with no appeal to the emotions. He is thus eminently qualified to undertake a biting analysis of the Hero as Soldier.

His book is not well organized, and especially at the beginning is rather discursively written. He draws upon his wide learning to illustrate the basic thesis that war is a disease of civilization, not a vestigial organ, that it is a disease whose malignancy increases with every increase in man's command over the blind forces of nature. Within the framework of this general contention he gathers many arguments common to minds reflecting upon the consequences of strife and international anarchy. His originality consists in his demonstration that war is a disease that attacks the brain of civilization even more than it attacks the heart or pocket-book, and that the most beautiful symptoms are revealed in the brain of the professional soldier. One gains the impression that Shaw's generals err by understatement when compared with a military staff in the flesh.

Mr. Wingfield-Stratford first endeavors to scotch the Victorian myth of the primitive cave-man. Man is not by nature warlike; fighting is acquired only with the blessings of civilization. The duel is a later development, originally a rite of religion or the law-courts. So too is the blood-feud, tolerated only for a brief stage in human development.

Nor does even civilization necessarily bring warfare with it. Egypt developed a peaceful civilization, with but a few interludes of madness. It was in Mesopotamia that war first flourished and infected human life; Enneatum appears as the first military leader on record, Sumerian king of Lagash. Caught up in a chain of causes

beyond its control, the ancient Near East succumbed to the disease. It ran its inevitable course and killed the states that could not resist the contagion. What it does to communities that cease to struggle against it is manifest in Assyria, in Sparta, in Prussia. There is displayed the qintessence of militarism; there everything has been sacrificed to military power: wealth, art, knowledge, the good life. And there such single-minded devotion to battle defeats itself; they that take the sword perish by the sword, Even cultures originally noble, like the Roman, or the Athenian, began to disintegrate when attacked by the swollen dropsy of military conquest. Only the Peruvian Empire of the Incas managed to expand without cracking under the strains and stresses of extended dominion, and that because they conquered not by the sword but by the torch of civilization.

After brief treatments of the destructiveness of war and of the stereotypes by which men are led to fight, Mr. Wingfield-Stratford strikes his stride when he approaches the military professional. With telling effect he sketches the portrait of the soldier, his soul and his mind, and analyzes the claims of the great conquering heroes to possess even a military genius. There is something to be said for the completely mercenary captain, at the head of his hired troops, like the Chinese who wrote the Book of War in the 5th century B.C., the condottieri of the quattrocento, or the skilled specialists of the 18th century. If force is to be the arbiter one settlement is as good as another, and a small and expert body of trained artists at arms can reach a decision with less destruction than a horde of patriotic and willing cannon-fodder. War under such auspices may be a luxury, but it is not ruinous. The professional hireling will not risk his own neck nor the lives of valuable players unnecessarily; bribery is safer than bloodshed, and no hired captain will venture the ruin of the treasury of his employer by prolonged struggle. Such war is a kind of international football match; its decisions are as rational as though whole nations cut each others' throats. Such polite pastimes, unfortunately, are ruined when barbarians appear who disregard the rules of the game, like the French armies that poured into Italy under Charles VIII and desolated

the land, or when religious fervor inflames one side, as in the armies of the Revolution. Since '93 commanders have forsaken skill and strategy for reliance upon sheer numbers of willing victims, and the art of war has correspondingly degenerated. It is as though the audience in the Yale Bowl started a general melée.

Clausewitz defined war as an act of violence to compel our opponent to fulfil our will. The soldier, accordingly, is one who applies force *à outrance* and to order, without regard to right or reason. Such a man finds that his profession has certain psychological effects. Free rein is given within permitted channels to his lust for power, and his ferocity is intensified by the rigid repression of necessary discipline. Ruthlessness is the concomitant of military efficiency. Sadism and other unbridled sexuality mark the profession of arms. Almost inevitably the soldier becomes a typical Freudian case. Nor does his intelligence fare better. The soldier must obey without reasoning why. Although a certain limited amount of initiative may be encouraged, he is at bottom part of a machine, and the habit of uniformity and standardized reaction is his greatest virtue. Constant submission to authority, and reliance on force rather than reason, is the most effective method of stunting the mind ever devised. Small wonder, then, that the military profession is the most conservative and convention-bound in the world. One may learn to command by obeying, but one does not learn to think, even on military lines. The greatest commanders have been amateurs, royal captains who escaped the lower ranks, or else students like Foch released from active service. The traditional training of the soldier on the parade-ground or in artificial manoeuvres based on vanished conditions utterly unfits any man for modern warfare. The penalty of soldiering is stupidity.

So true is this that Mr. Wingfield-Stratford can find little of genius in even the most famous conquerors. Victory has usually come from the ineptitude of opponents; Alexander, Hannibal, Caesar, Frederick, Napoleon, all won their reputations against poor soldiers, and displayed astonishing fallibility when faced by their equals. Increasingly a commander can win great victories without betraying great talent, for under modern mass-warfare the

palm goes to the national resources rather than to skill. One does not have to be able in order to command a great army, like Xerxes. Genuine military craftsmanship, indeed, may be associated with defeat as often as with victory; it was most apparent in the bloodless wars of the professionals. The Prince of Parma, Turenne and de Saxe, Prince Eugene, and above all Marlborough, were far more faultless technicians than Frederick, Napoleon, Foch, or Ludendorff.

So consistently have armies fought by rule that a single new weapon or new idea has bewildered oponents and turned the scale for generations. For the true soldier, any horrors of defeat are preferable to the birth-throes of a new idea. Each innovation has awakened the intense moral indignation of the profession: to alter the rules is so unchristian! The unreceptivity of the military mind to technological innovation has alone preserved our scientific civilization from suicide. But there is a Gresham's Law in arms as in currency, and the most debased coin drives out the better in the long run. Skill always gives way to brute power.

After a brief historical survey, in which it is pointed out how Christendom is the only mature civilization that has not only failed to progress in unity, cooperation and the subordination of conflict, but has actually degenerated since the Middle Ages, Mr. Wingfield-Stratton turns to the modern warfare that since the Revolution has replaced professional skill with patriotic butchery. With remorseless logic he chronicles the decay of the art. War has gotten out of even the soldier's control. He has called for ever more power, more cannon-fodder, more support in morale and deceptive propaganda. He has been utterly blind to the consequences of making his armies so unwieldly they can only be driven to slaughter, utterly unprepared for each new weapon forced upon him. The scientific and technological revolution in fighting has found him even more unable to learn than the civilian. He has put his faith in the shock of the cavalry charge, though cavalry has been antiquated since Frederick. He has seen no need to improve rifles and artillery. He has driven men to the shambles with growing recklessness in infantry charges that modern weapons have made

wholly useless. Gettysburg, Cold Harbor, Gravelotte, Sedan, Verdun, the Somme—each set a new record in stupid and futile butchery. The only defense of the sacrifice of four hundred thousand men in Flanders is the terrible statement of the Chief of the British General Staff, "I confess I stick to it because I see nothing better, and because my instinct prompts me to stick to it, than because of any good argument by which I can support it."

In 1898 the Polish banker Bloch predicted with great accuracy the inevitable stalemate of modern warfare, and the ordeal by exhaustion. Soldiers laughed at him, but he was right. His one error was in assuming that the military command would have the common sense not to persist in driving their men out of the trenches into massacre. But for years they did, because the chiefs could think of nothing better to do, and felt they must be doing something. In 1911 Norman Angell predicted with equal accuracy the economic effects of the struggle of endurance. He too thought that reason could conquer stupidity.

Like an Aeschylean trilogy the Great War moved forward. Hardly a flash of military talent relieved the tragedy of errors. Automatically the mobilizations proceeded, till all Europe was at arms. The soldier had his chance—and reveled in incompetence. "If any one had predicted that the event would reveal a lower depth of mental ineptitude than had been touched even by Flaminius and Varro in the Punic or by Mack and Whitelock in the Napoleonic Wars, he would have been scouted as an anti-militarist gone mad. Yet this was what actually happened, only without any Hannibal or Napoleon arising to provide a contrast." The French staff vied with the German in muddle-headed incompetence. "Never had the intellectual bankruptcy of the military mind been more signally revealed. Throughout the whole course of the operations, from the crossing of the frontier to the incomplete but ultimately decisive allied victory on the Marne, not only is it impossible to detect the remotest spark of anything that could be called genius—that would perhaps be too much to expect—but seldom the most ordinary competence or commonsense of leadership." Then set in the wearing down of the home front, relieved

only by the shambles of utterly futile attacks and drives, "the most pointless and unintelligent slaughter in the whole history of war." Mr. Wingfield-Stratford has no patience with those who see the outcome as a military victory against German arms. "War between modern armies is in fact decided not by arms, but by exhaustion, and when the breaking point comes it matters little in what way the collapse happens to be precipitated." And after the armistice—even a gang of brigands would scorn to hold somebody to ransom by starving his children, and continue to starve them while the gang leisurely disputed over the amount and distribution of the sum to be exacted. But the Allied blockade was good military logic!

Since the war it has been the same familiar story, threatening the suicide of civilization. Future war will differ from past war as a cancer from fever. There may be little novelty in the conclusion that every modern war is essentially civil war, but the fact is inescapable. Yet—there are the Fascists, the Communists, the Nazis! Mr. Wingfield-Stratford is driven to the reluctant conclusion that the hope of civilization lies not in youth, as receptive as ever to the dream of military glory and liberation by force, but in maturity. Not in youthful enthusiasm, but in mature wisdom and intelligence, lies the hope of victory over stupidity.

In intelligence—and something more. There must be a new philosophy, a new religion, a new spirit, if civilization is to be saved. "It is not enough to frame laws and treaties, leagues and covenants, indispensable though these things may be. War is a spirit, and it is only by a change of spirit that we can hope to master it. Every revolution of environment demands a corresponding revolution of the inner man—the choice is always between adaptation and death. The Kingdom of God is within us. Beyond our national and racial boundaries, there is the possibility of a wider communion; and however deep and tender the love that we cherish for our country, there is in us the capacity for a patriotism unrestricted by frontiers, that of a spiritual kingdom whose coming is peace, a patriotism that does not destroy or supersede the older loves, but harmonizes them like notes in one transcendant melody."

Liberalism is in total eclipse. Official Christianity revealed

itself in the Great War as a stench and an abomination. The forces of peace are gathering strength, but as yet they have found neither a religion nor a philosophy to bind them together. First of all there must be light, clear insight, candid self-examination. Then there must be a genuine religion of spiritual unity, world-wide in scope as mankind is now one. Fascism, Bolshevism, have worked wonders because they have discovered that the community is a spiritual unity. Alas, they have stopped at the frontier.

"There is no reason why mankind should not build up its spiritual organization in entire independence of the existing state machinery. It would seem that the time is ripe for the birth of a new world-order, like that of early Christianity, not hostile to, but apart from, the existing state systems. Such a world order as we envisage would have the effect of providing the League of Nations with a soul. About this spiritual revolution there is nothing of sentimentality or of emotionalism in the bad sense. The true rationalist is he who wishes to see the affairs of mankind ordered on rational principles, but this will never be accomplished except by a change of spirit. A spiritual revlution, indeed, is needed to make the world safe for science, and science safe for the world."

"The spirit of mankind is nothing but the spirit of every one of us. A spiritual revolution must be individual before it can become world-wide. To reform the world, we shall begin best by reforming ourselves. It is only ignorance of the facts that prevents millions of thinking people today from breaking, like Bunyan's man in rags, into a lamentable cry. 'What shall I do?' There is something that every one of us can do. He can devote himself, with all his heart and mind and soul and strength, to cultivating the right spirit, a spirit inspired by love and guided by reason, in himself first of all, and afterwards in others. Such a spirit, even though it be at first kindled only in a few isolated individuals, will assuredly prove infectious; mind will take fire from mind, spirit from spirit, until, with irresistible force the new movement sweeps through and transforms the world. If this spirit is once abroad, means will not be lacking for its organization. The hour will produce the men—it is of such quickening that genius is born."

THE PATH OF HISTORY

by

PAUL HINNER

EVOLUTION OF HUMAN AFFAIRS

THE outline of the order of development of human affairs as embodied in the science of sociology prior to the World War was proven erroneous through its inability to perceive and to point out the forces which led to the great conflict. Besides that it had failed to recognize the organic entity of the different civilizations and the alternating domination of their human components by spiritual and materialistic desires. In the following pages an attempt will be made to remedy this deficiency, and to show that the development of human affairs is interwoven with the development of the planets and of organic life and therefore is a part of the process of evolution. In order to do justice to the subject it is necessary to review history from a strictly neutral standpoint and to record all conclusions without fear or favor of any of the national or social sub-divisions of the human race.

The relation of mankind to the universe as far as it is of immediate concern is summed up in the formula: "The state of development of the planets and of all life on them is relative to the position of the planets in the solar system." Out of the slow recession of the earth from the sun grew the conditions necessary for the existence of organic life. In the early stages of their development the living beings were governed only by the impulse for self-preservation and propagation. Later the impressions from the outer world caused the development of a desire for knowledge and experience. This desire lifted some of the forms of organic life to a higher level and mankind rose out of this group to leadership,

because in it the desire was strongest and led in the most favorable direction. In the course of time the progressing evolution and the accumulating knowledge and experience in turn led to the development of selfconsciousness, will and the ability to think, reason, imagine, and to draw conclusions. Simultaneously with this mental progress emotional sensibilities developed which caused man to feel elated in consequence of certain actions and to suffer remorse on account of others. These mental and emotional faculties in their combination amounted to a spiritual sense through which the human race became perceptive of and subject to forces of nature which are not recorded by the material senses.

The organs and faculties for thought and emotion must therefore be considered the receiving apparatus for the influence of spiritual forces and intuition, the first impression of this influence. The evolution of a social order was the consequence of this contact with spiritual forces. The course of this social development, however, is less well known than the material development, because for the latter the conditions of the planets, the structure of the earth and the abundance of fossils furnish a fairly good record, while for the former only the written history of the human race is available. This evolution of a social order has up to now taken place through an unconscious reacting of different parts of the human race to new principles of conduct.

The development of the solar system, the slow recession of the earth from the sun, the change of the conditions for the existence of organic life and the succession of different principles which regulate the conduct of mankind in the progressive material and spiritual transformation are parts of a great process of life which animates the universe and all are therefore relative to each other. This process of life becomes visible to mankind as a chain of cause and effect, a wavelike penetration of matter by the material and spiritual forces of nature, a dissolving of obsolete forms of life and a reassembling of their components in new and superior combinations. Many details of nature become perceptible only in the form of contrasts: "Light and darkness, heat and cold, joy and sorrow, etc." Nature as a whole in like manner appears as matter and mind

and becomes in this way tangible to mankind, because each part is the contrast of the other. Matter is energy in its lowest form while mind is energy of the highest order. Both are opposite extremes of nature, similar as heat and cold are opposite extremes of temperature. They are at once a duality and also a unit; a form of relationship, which has another similarity in husband and wife. Matter and mind must therefore be considered as equivalent parts of nature which are mutually conditional for the evolution of selfconscious life. This evolution consists of a continuous improvement of successive, living organisms, in physical, mental and moral respects.

Material forces in the meaning here used are: Temperature, light, gravity, magnetism, etc. Spiritual forces are ideas and principles which become active in and through the formation of matter to living beings. For instance: Justice, love of knowledge, honesty, patriotism, tolerance, democracy, economy, etc. When the spiritual forces are present in too large or too small a measure, they become harmful or destructive to the forms of life which stand under their influence. In order to be beneficial and constructive, they must preserve a certain relativity to the progressive unfolding of life. Too much democracy suppresses talent and destroys leadership, too much economy turns into avarice and fosters disregard for the welfare of others. On the other hand the amount of justice which prevails in the affairs of mankind today is insufficient for the well-being of large masses of the human race on account of its lack in economic affairs, but it would have been harmful to society and to progress 1,000 years ago through being excessive. Through self-consciousness, reason and will, humanity has been endowed with the faculty of determining within certain limits the measure of the spiritual forces necessary for the promotion of its affairs, in a similar way as it can regulate the amount of heat or light desired for comfort. However, as the whole always dominates its subordinate parts, mankind can realize its desires only as long as they remain within the confines and direction of the process of life.

In order to obtain certain objects, nature in many instances assembles the living beings into groups or massbeings: Meadows, forests, colonies of ants and bees, atolls of coral, shoals of fish,

herds of mammals and many others. Naturally the massbeing plays a larger and more important rôle in the plan of nature than the individual beings. In many instances only the massbeing can fulfill the conditions of life of the individuals which compose it. Likewise can only large groups successfully perform certain functions in the process of life. The attracting and storing of moisture by the forests and the fructification and usefulness of the grains through growing in masses are instances. Every massbeing is a unit in itself and governs the conduct of its individuals through principles which best serve to promote their welfare under the prevailing conditions, as through that in turn the fulfillment of its own purpose is made possible in the largest measure. Mankind also forms massbeings; but the human massbeing is not the family, nor the nation or race, but the epoch of civilization. Up to now this term has been used only in the sense of meaning a period of time. *To cover the new conception of the epoch of civilization it must be broadened to mean a collective being in which large numbers of individuals are united through spiritual forces to a unit of uniform aspirations and culture.*

Although history has not been recorded from this standpoint, an unbiased review of it reveals clearly a row of such epochs. Up to now these have been denoted generally with a geographic or racial name: Egypt, Babylon, India, Phoenicia, Greece, Rome, the Mayas and Incas. As a consequence of the wide extent of the later civilizations and the diversity of the embraced people it is more practical to name them after their fundamental principle. The epoch which succeeded ancient Rome and which spread over Europe and America and forcibly imposed its rule on the larger part of the world up to the present time, must therefore be called the epoch of aggressive individualism. It brought all parts of the human race into contact with each other, abolished slavery and made political equality the governing principle.

The epoch which during the same period governed the development of the affairs of mankind in the Orient must in distinction from the former epoch, be called the civilization of passive individualism. It abolished slavery and established political equality

within its range of influence by peaceful means, but on account of its passive view of life did not contribute to the exploring and development of unknown parts of the world. Every epoch is a living entity and has a definite span of life. The nations which compose it are subdivisions and the citizens of these nations the cells of its body. The religious, political and economic instititions are its organs; they supplement each other and fulfill all functions which are required for the growth and existence of a being of this order. Religion is the directive force and determines the conduct of the individuals through moral principles which assure spiritual unity and the elevation of morals and culture above the former level. The political organs collect the power which develops in all parts of the body and apply it wherever the growth of the epoch and the attaining of its object make this necessary. The economic institutions procure the required nourishment and distribute it with the aid of the currency to all cells of the body. The currency is the blood in the body of the epoch of civilization and its uninterrupted circulation is a necessity for a healthy growth and a normal life. In the formative period of a new civilization the human material stratifies into separate layers according to the devotion and usefulness to the new governing principle. These layers gradually harden into classes and during the decline in consequence of the increasing selfishness become hostile to each other.

Just the same as individual beings are subject to sickness and disease, so are the epochs of civilization subject to internal and external disturbances and deviations from the natural course of development. These diseases are caused by spiritual indolence and mental perversion, misuse of power for selfish purposes by groups or individuals, lack of cohesion and harmony between national or social subdivisions of the epoch, etc. They take the form of periods of decadence, national and racial animosities, states of anarchy or disturbances in the functions of the affected organs. Violence in the form of wars, revolutions or local insurrections is generally their consequence and also their cure. The conditions leading to the Reformation and the French Revolution and the mania for the burning of supposed witches were such diseases. Unusual occur-

rences like the great migration of races and the World War, are the events which accompany the dying of an old civilization, and the birth of a new one. If in any civilization, conditions develop which stifle the desire of the human components for further knowledge and experience it becomes dormant and is absorbed by another epoch or later revived through new principles to further activity. With the slow recession of the planets from the sun as a mechanical force behind the progressive development of all forms of life, this process becomes inexorable in all its phases and the massbeings must in like manner as the individual beings, grow to maturity, decline with age and die, even against their own will, so that they may be replaced by a successor corresponding in a larger measure to the new position and condition of the planet.

In the decline of an obsolete epoch, the lower stratas of its human material are oppressed by the increasing selfishness of the upper stratas in a measure which prevents them from rising to a higher level of culture and well-being. However, the ensuing physical and mental sufferings increase their capacity for reacting to spiritual forces. They perceive the new governing principle and the growth of the conception of right and wrong, which during the decline of the epoch had come to a standstill, is reanimated in them. This causes them to strive for an extension of justice beyond its former scope. Through that the oppressed rise to a higher moral plane than their oppressors and in consequence gain the ascendency because *moral superiority is the first requisite of constructive leadership.* Their ideals are in the course of time consolidated by gifted leaders and become a new religion. The growth of Christianity among the oppressed masses of decaying Rome, is an example. The ideal of equality of the individuals as embodied in the Christian religion was readily accepted by the multitude of slaves and other suffering stratas of the Roman population. This spiritual and moral growth expresses itself in idealistic views and unselfish devotion to the cause of the new justice. The common ideal binds the individuals together to a living unit which absorbs in its growth other parts of the human race and in this way becomes the body of a new epoch of civilization in which the ideals of the formerly oppressed

classes are the guiding spirit. While the epoch is in the ascendency, spiritual interests and the desire to serve the new ideal over-balance the selfish-materialistic interests in the majority of individuals. Enquiries about the relation of mankind to the universe and the forces which dominate the process of life take place and waves of enthusiasm stir the masses to unselfish deeds and great accomplishments. The spreading of three great religions in China in the first part of the Christian era, the propagation of Christianity and Islam in the 8th and 9th centuries and the holding of many councils by the Christian church to clarify its docturine are instances. After the epoch has completed its growth and passed the zenith, the selfish desires and the love of material possessions increase until they outweigh the spiritual desires. This again brings about an expansion of the methods and means for satisfying the growing materialistic demands. However, as the selfishness continues to increase and the love of material possessions tends to go to extremes, a point is finally reached at which the spiritual forces binding the human beings together to a massbeing are nullified and the dissolution of their civilization is the natural result.

The desire of the majority of individuals to possess more material goods than are necessary for their well-being in a normal state of life, leads naturally to the oppression of those that are placed at a disadvantage in consequence of their lower position in the social structure. However, the oppressed are not less selfish than the oppressors. This has been demonstrated whenever one of them rose into a higher strata of society, but the suffering from the oppression tends to lessen their selfishness, to make them more sympathetic and just towards their fellowmen and to ennoble their character. On account of their inability to obtain material possessions, they are also less dominated by them than their oppressors and therefore more receptive to the influence of spiritual forces.

In harmony with this course of development, the religious organs are first in importance at the beginning of the epoch, when the object of the new civilization and the line of conduct for attaining it, have to be defined. Later the political organs gain the ascendency and direct affairs until the object has been attained. Then

the decline begins and the selfish materialistic tendencies of the individuals give the leading rôle to the economic organs. At this stage opposing currents of selfishness which are expressed in the conduct of groups of individuals and which become consolidated in the policies of the governments of the different countries, lead to conflicts which weaken the epoch and bring about its dissolution. The degree of violence with which the dissolution takes place is relative to the amount of selfishness which prevails at the time. Human selfishness is a destructive force, which after reaching a climax in the dissolution of an old civilization, recedes again before the constructive forces of the process of life and a new civilization comes into being. The rôle of the human emotions in the successive stages of this process can not yet be clearly determined, but they seem to give volume and power to the different currents of development.

The penetration of mankind by the forces active in the process of life, varies in degree from the unconscious to the conscious. The accumulating knowledge widens the perception of the human race of its position in the process of life and enables it to adjust itself to this process with an ever increasing measure of facility. Up to now this adjustment has taken place mostly unconsciously and the actions of many historical persons as well as of whole nations can only be understood if they are considered as the unconscious adjusting and service to the process of life. For instance: Yinghis Khan turned Islam and Christianity westward and the exploring and opening of the Western Hemisphere by the European nations was the natural result, but he was not aware of the extent of his accomplishments. Persons of historic prominence are the medium through which forces inherent in the process of life are translated into action and accomplish a definite part of the development of human affairs. Through the perception of the organic entity of the epoch of civilization, selfconsciousness is enlarged because mankind sees itself concentrated to a higher form of life: "The collective being" and is now enabled to adjust itself knowingly and voluntarily to the new situation created by the natural flow of evolution, by adopting a collective mode of conduct. This progressive

development of human affairs through successive or parallel epochs of civilization represents the materialization of the principles which are relative to the position and condition of the planet. The burden of this process has passed successively in the form of leadership from one part of the human race to another whenever a change of principle took place. The race foremost in human affairs at a given time, must therefore not fall into the error of assuming that it holds the position of leadership indefinitely, but it must recognize that in the course of time a change of principle will again take place and another part of the human race will be inspired to carry the new principle to victory.

An outstanding feature in the record of history is the important rôle which religion has played in every epoch of civilization. This fact cannot be ignored if a clear and accurate understanding of the development of human affairs is desired. It is not logical to condemn or deny parts of the process of life for the sole reason that they don't fit into our conception of this process. Religion has been the directive force in every epoch of civilization and has always formulated the governing principle in terms which were commensurable to the mental level of its adherents. It represents the human conception of the forces active in the process of life and specifies the corresponding line of conduct. This conception was up to now mostly depicted in symbolic form as the limited knowledge did not permit a more precise interpretation. Religious symbolism in some instances has even depicted subconscious perceptions of truth. The totemism of the Alaska Indians is such an example. It corresponds to biologic principles, of which however, the Indians had no knowledge. In consequence of the accumulating knowledge and experience this necessity for symbolism has diminished until now the mental state of the major part of the human race will accept only visible and understood reality of nature and life as the basis for a future religion. The diminishing of the influence of religion is the first indication of the decline of a civilization. It shows that human knowledge has increased since the founding of that religion and that the old conception of life is below the new mental level. The affected parts of mankind, lacking direction

appropriate to the new conceptions, follow their own selfish inclinations. A tendency to ignore the obsolete moral restrictions and to seek satisfaction in the accumulation of material possessions develops in the individuals and the dissolution of their civilization is the natural result. Religion therefore must be considered as the expression of a force of nature, through which the development of human affairs is kept in harmony with the process of life on the planet. *The moral force which induces us to think and act in conformity with the process of life, that is our religion and not the inflexible formula of faith to which we adhere for selfish reasons or out of mental laziness.*

The known major religions have all originated on the materialism of a declining civilization and spread from there to other parts of the human race. This unused human material became then the foundation for a new epoch of civilization. Buddhism originated on the stagnant materialism of India but became later the spiritual guide of a new civilization in China. The Roman religion was derived from inspirations originating in declining Greece. Christianity took root and flourished on the materialistic cadaver of ancient Rome and spread from there over Europe, America and other parts of the world. In this way the continuity of the process of the cultural elevation of mankind was maintained. Human affairs at the present time contain many features which indicate that this process is still in operation and that a new religion and a new civilization are gradually taking shape.

(To be continued)

THE NOVEL OF THE WAR YEARS

by

EVELYN NEWMAN

Professor of English, Rollins College, Winter Park, Florida

IV

PROPAGANDA of a like kind but frequently redeemed by more artistic expression characterizes the work of Andreas Latzko. *Menschen im Krieg* by this Austrian writer was published in 1918, at a time when violence of thought was more excusable than it is today. The stories of the book form a series.

Off to the War

It is late autumn of the second year of war. The place is a garden of a war hospital. Long lines of trains packed with singing, shouting men are going to the front. Others are returning slowly, filled with the bleeding sufferers for the hospital. In this tale, the wives and mothers and sweethearts of the men are blamed for sending off their loved ones so gaily. There is a gruesome picture of three men hobbling along—three men who have but two legs among them.

The Baptism of Fire

The character of Lieutenant Weixler, always harsh, always punishing his men, thinking of nothing but killing the enemy, is depicted as too brutal for a lad of twenty. He forced his company of Reservists straight across open fields, hoping by such an act to win for himself a medal for distinguished service. In contrast to this "fighting cock" is the kind civilian Captain to whom nothing is more repulsive than the singing of praises of war sacrifice such as the famous motto: "Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori."

The Victor

This describes General X. He is unlimited master of hundreds of thousands of human lives. He will not "deign to hope for peace." He ordered the playing of military music in the open square before the Court House to inspire school children with patriotic ardor and to make a good fellowship between the citizens of the town and the staff of officers billeted there. He refused, however, to allow the sick and wounded soldiers from the hospital to foregather in the square for the enjoyment of the concert. The sight of their mutilation and suffering would subdue the gaiety. He wanted the people to think of war as a gay holiday pastime instead of the hideous slaughter that it really was.

My Comrade: A Diary

The story of a man who is haunted by one he had killed in battle. Always inside his eyelids he sees his victim's dying agony. "Can a man live at a distance from his crucified self when the whole world resounds with the horrors? Can one forget the taunt of 'Man Salad' thrown at an officer?" This is a madman's story giving the horrors that drove him mad.

Hero's Death

A symbolic story of the dying lieutenant who received his mortal wound by the blow of a phonograph record dashed on his head from a shrapnel explosion. This record is used as a symbol of the soldiers "They all have phonograph heads"—"that is what a military training and war do to a man"—"All the men had records in their necks. Their heads had been unscrewed and replaced by records singing national airs."

Home Again

John Bogdan, terribly mutilated about the face, returned to his home village in Hungary. Not even the wife of the station-guard, a woman who had been his friend from childhood, recognized him. His handsome fiancée was working up in the castle in a shell factory run by "the gentleman of the castle." This noble gentleman earned his hundred pounds a day as Director of the factory

and, incidentally, had made Bogdan's sweetheart his mistress. Bogdan killed him and was in turn killed by the forester—a servant of the noble.

The later work of both Barbusse and Dorgelès shows a certain falling off in artistic quality. Dorgelès in his *Le Cabaret de la Belle Femme* (1928) has, however, stories of artistic power, though no single one of them is much more than a reinforcement of his statements in *Les Croix de Bois*. There is humor in *Les Poissons Rouges,* telling as it does of a big mine which was an attraction for the sightseeing officers, civilians, great and near-great. The destruction of this mine was put off from day to day because the General wanted to keep his center of attraction. Lousteau, with a wit reminding us of Sulphart, said: "The only thing missing was the Germans." Then the Germans got into the mine, blowing up the sap and coming out in the French second line.

"We must get back the wood," cried the General. At last he heard that half of it had been taken. "Only half,—the rest must be recovered at once." A third battalion reserve is moved up, and at dawn they had retaken the entrance to the mine. The decimated regiment stopped. "It is a pity. I am convinced that with a little good will they could have taken the rest," said the General.

As a reward the decimated regiment was moved back to Headquarters where they were allowed to enjoy themselves by wandering about in the park of the chateau. One day the General found them fishing in his pet gold-fish pond: "Oh, my poor little fish, my poor little fish!" In a fury this friend of the fish, the angry General, was going to take the names of all the men for punishment. Suddenly catching sight of their stripes, he recalled that they were the men who had attacked in the mine incident and whose battalion had lost so terribly: "Ah, yes, it was hard, very hard. I thought you would retake the whole wood—well, you did what you could. This time I won't punish you."

Le Cabaret de la Belle Femme, the sketch which gives the book its name, tells of an old cabaret on the front, in Champagne between Berry and Rheims. A halt had been made after a battle at Courcy. On an evening of September 1914, an officer asks for

twenty men for a patrol. No one volunteers until he explains that it is to occupy the cabaret on the route to Laon, under the nose of the Germans. The mere mention of the name seemed "a promise of warm happiness, of plentiful food and gaiety." The men responded excitedly: "Present! Me!—Me!" "They start off led not by Sergeant Prévost but by illusion, love." On arriving, they found a heap of bricks with a broken tileless roof beneath which were old bottles, "perhaps the belle femme too." They spent a wretched night, cold and wet, watching the "hostile shadow in which the Germans wandered." The teller of the story (it is written in the first person) says: "The episode has remained in my mind as the symbol of the war. We left feeling almost joyous, believing in adventure . . . We returned, deceived, after days and months and years—all of the same grey—having seen nothing but ruins beneath which there was, perhaps, something."

The book by M. Dorgelès which exceeds in power and beauty all else that he has done is *Le Réveil des Morts* (1923). Because of its material, however, it must be discussed in the section devoted to post-war fiction.

Of M. Duhamel a last word may be added here. He has continued to find real gold in the vein of humanity which he struck during the war. He has transferred his method of analysis as well as his sympathetic art from the wounded soldier to all the wounded of life, les hommes abandonnés, through any cause, perhaps through their own fault entirely. He sees the unfortunate, the unhappy, the lost ones of this modern machine age. His philosophy is not lacking all hope. Harking back to Rousseau, more perhaps akin to Edward Carpenter's *Toward Democracy,* he believes that the simple life, the real instead of the mere external, must be sought and held fast. He has the passion and sincerity that win respect. He is a sustaining force and example for the younger generation of post-war writers.

(To be continued)

YOUTH DEMANDS PEACE

The Right To Live

by

Clifford L. Lord

Undergraduate, Amherst College

"The Rights of Man"—how Americans of all generations since 1783 have prided themselves on the sacred rights of the first Ten Amendments of the Constitution, the right of free speech, press, assembly and religion! How the right to vote has been hailed, in theory at least, as a sacred prerogative of every man and woman! How today the right of man to slake his thirst as he pleases is being vaunted and paraded! How much one hears of the right of every man to have gainful employment and a living wage! Yet back of all these there lies one indispensable right, one which by its very nature takes precedence over these others, one which lies at the basis of all prerogatives—the right to live. Although more inalienable, more sacred than any other right of mankind, this is not provided for in the Constitution nor is it guaranteed by any man-made statute. In its place, man has been given the right to "die for his country"—an ironical phrase. Could not his country use him better, were he alive?

This right to exist seems so self-evidently the basic prerogative of man that it is rather startling to find men high up in government circles in Washington predicting, unequivocally if uncomfortably, war within five years,—to find on all sides a blank and overwhelming fog of pessimism about the Geneva Conference, to find $616,000,000 naval building programs even being thought of, to find channels being closed to any further reduction of inter-allied debts. It is disconcerting to see a key government through near-sightedness or the representations of vested interests, refuse to

employ the one effective instrument of non-violent diplomacy, the boycott, to restore order in the Far East, to see newsreels of some of the great battles of the war featured on the same program with pacifist speeches by MacDonald, Lloyd George and Baldwin. It is alarming to read about Japanese attacks on American officials in China, to see the jingo press and the yellow sheets stirred to renewed activity, to see Congressional refusal, however politic, to participate in the Reparations Conference, to see movies of foreign officials hooted at by theatergoers. It is ridiculous to read the army pamphlets justifying war in the eyes of God by quoting from the Bible, ". . . . and underneath are the everlasting arms;" to find the world, not by any means recovered from a war to end war bristling with all the makings of another. It seems increasingly obvious that is a suicidal course, fully appreciated two thousand years ago when at least one voice said, "He who liveth by the sword perisheth by the sword," yet still the high folly goes on.

War is deplored by all parties; disarmament and international comraderie are praised by speechmakers and leaders of all nations, yet with the utmost duplicity, possibly coupled paradoxically enough with sincere regret, these same men sanction armament programs, foster propaganda, prepare for the next war. And the power to declare war lies in the hands of these same few men. We who have to bear the burden have no say in the matter. In a government of the people, by the people and for the people, men are still regarded in a military sense as so much cannon fodder, as potential fertilizers for the poppies of future Flanders Fields. Against this youth protests!

The slave, knowing that at any time he might be sold down the river, must have had this same helpless feeling, this sensation of the futility of his position. A trapped mouse, dimly sensing the hopelessness of escape yet struggling to get away, might share the mute resentment of youth at the war system. The inhabitants of the death house at Sing Sing must have that sense of impending sure doom which comes with the imminence of war. Facing a cold, impassible barrier such as the existence of the war system creates, warping life and its richer meanings, man, a rebel at heart, revolts.

The author of "The Revolt of Modern Youth" only told half the story, for this coming generation demands that it be given its due right to live out its allotted span, not seeking a cowardly road, not looking for a soft way out, but protesting vigorously against a useless waste of its precious existence, demanding with all its mind, body and soul the right to live.

It is this complete and unmitigated disgust with the whole war system, this feeling of despair at the results into which diplomatic blunders can lead an unwilling nation, this mad desire to gamble with anything rather than another war, this conviction that life is a thing too sacred to be trifled with, that is accountable in part for the growing revolt of youth against all things military, and the proportionate increase in the rolls of pacifist organizations. In a recent poll in one of the most famous of the small colleges of the East, nearly half of the student body said unequivocally that they would not fight under any circumstances in another war. Together with the growing number of students enrolled in the War Resister's League, the Fellowship of Reconciliation and other kindred organizations, this testifies with startling emphasis the current attitude of young America on this question. The gabelles and the tailles of another day have their counterparts in the drafts and conscriptions of today, and that fine spirit of independence which is so lauded to the skies on Fourth of July is asserting itself in the true patriotism of those who feel that they will best serve the interests of their country if they refuse, at whatever personal cost, to participate in a catastrophe which would set back civilization some fifty or a hundred years and cause untold suffering and misery among their fellow compatriots. It is not any yellow streak which leads men to take this decision. The number who would today face the firing squad before they would join the strange and mottled array of duped idealists and belligerent chauvinists which comprise a war time army, testifies to a spirit and courage which will take more than bugles or whiffs of grapeshot to stop.

War must go by the boards as less barbaric institutions have gone before it. Slavery fled before the onslaught of an outraged civilization. Narcotics have long been banned by indignant legis-

lators. Yet war remains, though its former glorious tradition is shattered beyond repair. It is attacked from every conceivable angle; it is denounced by individual and group alike; it remains to scourge the nations of the world, to kill off the flower of its manhood, to leave a blackened trail of kicking, screaming corpses, of shattered homes and widows brought early to their graves. It cannot be a voice crying in a wilderness which says, "war must go!"

The dream of a warless world is not utopian. There are substitutes for war on every hand. Economic strife is at the basis of almost every recent war; the boycott is demonstrably the most potent weapon at a people's command; yet still we have huge armies and navies—peace to their ashes—and still we hear cries of "war within five years."

Men by the thousand and tens of thousands died between 1914 and 1918 in a war to end war. We, sadder and wiser, know now that war can never end war. The war system has failed utterly and completely. It has never succeeded and this generation discards what does not succeed. The peace system must not be allowed to go by default.

It is to the challenge of this situation that youth today is rising. The men and women who are pupils in grammar school yearned to have been born a hundred years before, that they might tie themselves up with some great movement such as the reformers of the 1860's represented, now are beginning to see that a far greater fight is on their hands, that a far greater reward awaits the Garrisons and the Lincolns of tomorrow who will peacefully tow the navies of the world to their final Scapa Flow, who will give each soldier his horse and sword for the spring plowing.

Ours is a proud heritage, a sacred trust in this fight against war, for untold thousands have died for us, to make our world safe for democracy, to remove from us for all time the blight of nations known as war. "To us from failing hands these throw the torch, be ours to hold it high!" And now it is for us the living to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—to attack war and hit it hard. We want to *live* in a word from which strife will not be absent—God forbid—but in a world in which mangled corpses

and organized murder will be a thing of the savage past, where men may live, in fulfillment of their one unalienable right. We want to strive, but not to kill; die of mortality, not gunfire.

As it has responded time and again to an appeal of sacrifice for a great cause, young America responded in 1917 to give its all in a war to end war. That America of idealism and sacrifice is not dead. Now it throbs to the idealism and practicality of peace. It was duped and drugged into the last war by the most hypocritical and base of all propaganda—that which by appealing to men's highest idealism made them throw themselves recklessly and willingly into No Man's Land. It will not be so easily deceived again. It will work for peace, for disarmament, for international goodwill. If war comes, it will flood the jails to overflowing with objectors. For a warless world, young America will again give every ounce of its blood, this time without gunpowder, until it takes its destined place with the militant minorities which have made history, and has made a contribution second to none in the advancement of the world, guaranteeing to man for all time the sacred right of existence. For *this* we will die again!

The fifth contribution to a symposium conducted by undergraduates of Amherst College under the editorship of Henry Schmidt, Jr.

THE AMERICAN PEACE MOVEMENT

Current Plans and Activities

by

Russell M. Cooper

Graduate School, Columbia University

On Tuesday, February second, the eyes of the world will center upon Geneva. The great disarmament Conference toward which men have been looking ever since 1919 will at last be in session. As we stand at the very eve of the first meeting and contemplate the chances of success and the awful consequences which would attend its failure, the outlook appears serious, indeed. Very few conferences in modern times have been so tremendously important or so confronted with baffling difficulties.

The armament problem does not exist in a vacuum. It is intimately tied up with all the factors making for international unrest and insecurity, and nations can be expected to really disarm only when political and economic conflicts also seem on the road to solution. The outlook, therefore, is none too propitious. Japan still occupies Manchuria with armed forces, the reparations and war debts tangle is as knotted as ever, the United States still officially holds aloof from the World Court and the League of Nations, and with such discordant factors France demands that she be made secure. It is not surprising, therefore, that the opening of the conference finds many of the staunchest advocates of disarmament unusually gloomy.

While most of the peace organizations are fully aware of these great difficulties confronting disarmament, their dominant mood is clearly one of determined hope and not of despair. A statement, recently issued by the Policy Committee of the National Council

for Prevention of War, clearly sets forth the attitude of that organization. It points out that despite the obstacles, many facts point toward success. The pressing financial necessity for curbing government expenses weighs heavily upon most statesmen. The small neutral states are strongly for disarmament, and the possible importance of their influence has been demonstrated during the recent reparations conference at Basle. There is the political necessity for some measure of disarmament which will satisfy the German Nationalists.

Furthermore, it is realized that this conference is not like other conferences, able to meet and fail and then try again. If this conference fails, there may be no other opportunity for reduction of armaments for a generation, and during that generation there would almost undoubtedly come war. The full realization of the tremendous responsibility resting upon their shoulders will compel the delegates to make heroic efforts for success, just as burning necessity drove the American Constitutional Convention on to victory.

Of all nations, the United States is in the best position to assume leadership at Geneva. She has the most to gain from disarmament, and the less to lose. Other nations are unquestionably watching to see what position she will take. Mussolini, for example, declares that if the Americans go strongly for arms limitation, the conference will agree upon important limitation of armaments; and that if, on the other hand, the Americans are indifferent, and not aggressive for limiting armaments, the conference will do little if anything in the way of reduction.

The peace organizations in this country have from the first sought to bring pressure upon the government to assume its natural leadership for disarmament. One concrete result of this campaign is the appointment of Miss Mary E. Woolley, an ardent peace advocate, as a member of the American delegation. If this agitation is continued with unabated vigor, the government of the United States may be encouraged to take a bold and courageous lead such as that offered to the Washington Conference in 1921. Peace organizations generally, therefore, are girding themselves for a

great campaign of public education which will bring continued and effective pressure upon the government.

Such was the spirit which pervaded the Seventh Conference on the Cause and Cure of War, which met in Washington, January 18 to 22. Eleven national women's societies, having a combined membership of about five million women, sent delegates to this meeting. Mr. James G. McDonald, Miss Carrie Chapman Catt, Mr. George Soule, and Professor James T. Shotwell were among the speakers who featured the program. The women discussed not only disarmament, but also the world's economic situation, the implementation of the Kellogg Pact, and the question of whether the trend of the times is toward peace or war. The Conference is sending to Geneva a delegation of four women armed with a petition containing the names of nearly a million American women urging drastic reduction of armaments. Similar petitions from 45 different countries will be presented to the Geneva Conference during its opening sessions.

The agitation that the present Senate ratify the World Court Protocols continues to gather strength. One of the newest organizations to enter the lists is the National Committee of Republican Women for the World Court. The Committee, headed by Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore, has forthy-three members including outstanding Republican women of many states. It plans to send a message to thousands of Republican women throughout the country urging that, as an outstanding party objective, they "press for the ratification this winter of the three World Court treaties which will compel the entry of the United States into the World Court."

The National Council for Prevention of War is continuing its campaign for adherence to the Court by urging its followers to press their respective senators for an early vote upon the issue. The Council announced its program in a recent statement, declaring that: "World Court meetings and resolutions from now on will be in order, reaching a climax in the period that will follow the Foreign Relations Committee's report."

The National World Court Committee, headed by John F. O'Ryan, Everett Colby, and Prof. Philip C. Jessup, has submitted

to the Senate some very convincing proof that a large section of American public opinion favors adherence to the Court. The Committee lists thirty-seven national organizations which, since January 1, 1930, have recommended favorable action on the three Court protocols. These include the American Bar Association, the American Federation of Labor, the American Federation of Teachers, the Federal Council of Churches, and the General Federation of Women's Clubs. The Committee then gives the result of a nationwide poll of railroad and insurance officials, lawyers, and educators which shows that 5,819 are in favor of immediate ratification, while only 83 are opposed. The names of these 5,819 individuals, which form an impressive roster of American leadership, have been classified by states and published for the benefit of the Senate.

In the student realm, the peace movement has made several decided advances. A national-wide straw vote among students, conducted by the Intercollegiate Disarmament Council, revealed that 92% of the 24,245 students voting were in favor of armament reduction, and 63% urged that the United States disarm without waiting for other nations. Though there was little sectional difference in the results, it is interesting to note that the inland states were as much or more liberal than the supposedly internationally-minded East. Those urging that the United States take the initiative in disarrmament were: New England, 60%; Central States 62%; Middle Atlantic, 63%; South, 71%; Rocky Mountain, 72%; and Pacific Coast, 78%.

The National Student Federation has recently published the first issue of the World Student Mirror, a monthly newspaper disigned to develop "an intelligent student opinion on questions of national and international importance." This first issue contains a survey of student activities in China, South America, and the United States, and if succeeding numbers are of the same high calibre, the paper should do much to stimulate student interest upon public questions. Once the student population is awakened and vocalized, it will make a valuable addition to the ranks of the American Peace Movement.

ROUND TABLE

The effect of Grover Clark's "Why East and West Are Different," concluded in this issue, has been to translate the terms of the problem into values readily understood by the rational intelligence. The missionary term "heathen" which western people first ascribed to Orientals, made the problem insoluble by considering the East essentially inferior to the West. As the term "heathen" began to assume substance from the incapacity of traders to understand the bases of Oriental character, we arrived inevitably at a composite mass picture containing traits supplied by Bret Harte, Kipling, detective story writers, and returned missionaries, at once helpless and appealing and yet also mysterious and sinister. The background to this caricature, supplied by Chinese art, Hindu philosophy, Moslim architecture and Fitzgerald's neurotic interpretation of a mystical Sufi poem, added glamor to a romantic ancient East but not reality to the living East.

In discovering a rational factor in the contrast of hunter and agricultural societies, Mr. Clark has humanized the entire situation once and for all, and it is hoped that his contribution to the basic problem of current civilization will be widely appreciated.

There seems to be some risk at present that thoughtful westerners, in their reaction against economic and political failure at home, may go too far in accepting all Oriental philosophy and practice as necessarily "spiritual." A wide gulf separates the realms of mental and spiritual action. The non-violence of Gandhi, for example, which arouses so much sympathy in America, is not less a form of warfare because it substitutes the psychological for the material weapon. In the same way, much Oriental philosophy is atheistic in essence even while it appears to refine and enhance the "inner" life beyond the limits of western practice. It is entirely possible to

have an attitude of gentle courtesy toward one's fellows, and include their destinies in one's philosophic formula, and still be remote from them in the real world of spiritual oneness. At a certain point of indifference, the mental formula is difficult to distinguish from high religious morality.

The thesis established by Hans Kohn in his series "Orient and Occident," that Oriental peoples can only cooperate effectively with the nations of the West by passing through the eras of economic and political determinism, strongly reinforces and supplements Grover Clark's idea. World peace will only come when it is deserved—when the nations have paid the price. No real price was paid by the adoption of the League of Nations, because the League has not in any way minimized the exclusive sovereignty claimed by the member States.

Part of the cost of peace is freedom for the East to assume the difficult responsibility of representative government, and its adoption of western economic technique upon terms compatible with its own highest evolution.

Had the League been able to enforce peace upon the world in 1919, it would have been a peace perpetuating every injustice within each national society. The progress of disruption compels us to extend our conception of peace from a mere arrangement of governments to a process of transformation affecting all phases of human existence. The time has come for peace workers to abandon such blind alleys as Disarmament Conferences, and focus their influence upon the attainment of the real objective, a World State.

A DISCIPLINED AND EDUCATED DEMOCRACY

Letters from World Unity Readers—VIII

I like World Unity because it shows the result of much study and a desire to perpetuate its name in the best way.

I like your Statement of Purpose because it gives you a wider scope than if you had set down specific lines of detailed administrative action as imperative, before you had spent a year or two reconnoitering.

You have shown me what general unanimity there is among your contributors, to base their future building on a disciplined and educated Democracy.

Rufus Jones's article in March (1931), is a fine summary of educational aims, and confirms me in my belief that Kindergarten training is imperative in order to provide sound foundations for Primary, Secondary and University acquisitions.

I should like opinions on three questions which seem to me to be fundamental needs of a successful Democracy:

1. Freedom of contract between employers and employed. (Under it, Britain and the U. S. developed great enterprises, while legal wage awards have played havoc in New Zealand).

2. Half the State revenue to be raised by a Direct Tax on all incomes. Voting permit to be on reverse side of Tax receipt. Thus the voter recognizes his share in all public expenditure, and begins to insist upon value for his money.

3. No payment to be made from State treasury to any able-bodied citizen unless he has done some service for it.

WILLIAM B. MATHESON

Seatoun
Wellington, N. Z.

TWELFTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE

of the

PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

February 18, 19, 20, 1932
Baltimore, Maryland

Plans for the Twelfth Annual Conference of the Progressive Education Association include a notable list of speakers with topics bearing on the important relation of education to the changing social order. In addition there will be a series of Group Discussions under competent leaders covering a wide range of practical subjects. Exhibits of children's work and materials helpful in teaching will feature the convention.

Reduced railroad rates will be offered to members of the Association and their families. No admission fees will be charged to members. **Join the Association, receive the benefits of reduced railroad rates and free admission to the sessions. Your membership will also entitle you to a year's subscription to PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION and all the services of the Association.**

For hotel reservations, write direct to Mr. William H. Parker, Managing Director of the Emerson Hotel, Baltimore, Md., headquarters for the Conference.

Make hotel reservations now. Join the Association and notify us of your intention to attend. Urge your friends to go. Send for copies of the preliminary program.

Annual membership in the Association is $3.00.
Two years' membership - $5.00.

PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
716 Jackson Place
Washington, D. C.

BOOKS FOR WORLD UNITY READERS

A WORLD COMMUNITY, by *John Herman Randall*

THE book for those who seek to grasp the world movement as a whole, with the inter-relations of economic, political, industrial and social factors, and a careful analysis of the trends making for international organization.

It has been included in the reading list issued by the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War.

NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM
by *Herbert Adams Gibbons*

IN THIS book, Dr. Gibbons has infused his historical scholarship with a lifetime of personal experience and participation in international affairs. The result is a study accurate enough for the classroom and interesting enough for the average reader.

"Nationalism and Internationalism" traces the evolution of political force from its first expression in the movement toward modern nationalism, through the nineteenth century, to its present expression in internationalism as the true outcome of national ideals.

SEVEN GREAT BIBLES, by *Alfred W. Martin*

HERE, at last, are the essential truths about Hinduism, Buddhism, Zorastrianism, Confucianism, Taoism, Muhammadanism, Judaism and Christianity that demonstrate the underlying unity and harmony in the texts from which these religions derive—a very history of the soul of man illumined from age to age by inspired teachers pointing the path to brotherhood and peace.

These three books have been published in the World Unity Library initiated and sponsored by this magazine. Per copy, $2.00. Any one title, with annual subscription to World Unity Magazine, $4.00; subscription and two books, $5.75; subscription and all three books, $7.50.

WORLD UNITY MAGAZINE

4 EAST 12TH STREET NEW YORK

ORDER BLANK

"It has been very encouraging to see the warm reception which WORLD UNITY has received and to note its constant progress. There was room for a magazine which should devote itself to a non-partisan discussion of the intellectual and moral aspects of world cooperation and international movements, and WORLD UNITY has met this need in a most satisfactory manner."—*John Dewey.*

WORLD UNITY
4 EAST 12TH STREET
NEW YORK CITY

I enclose $ for which kindly enter my order for the items checked below.

☐ WORLD UNITY MAGAZINE. Annual subscription, $2.50. $2.00 to Libraries, Educational and Religious Institutions.

☐ A WORLD COMMUNITY, by John Herman Randall, $2.00. Book and annual subscription to World Unity, $4.00.

☐ NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM, by Herbert Adams Gibbons, $2.00. Book and annual subscription to World Unity, $4.00.

☐ SEVEN GREAT BIBLES, by Alfred W. Martin, $2.00. Book and annual subscription to World Unity, $4.00.

☐ EDUCATION FOR HUMAN BROTHERHOOD, by Rufus M. dresses of 'Abdu'l-Bahá in America, $0.75. Book and annual subscription to World Unity, $3.00.

☐ FOUNDATIONS OF WORLD UNITY, selections from the ad- Jones, 16-page reprint, $0.05 per copy. (Rate quoted for larger quantity on request.)

☐ BUILDING UP THE INTERNATIONAL MIND, by Harry Allen Overstreet, 16-page reprint, $0.05 per copy. (Rate quoted for larger quantity on request.)

☐ READING LIST OF CURRENT BOOKS ON WORLD UNITY, $0.05 per copy. (Rate quoted for larger quantity on request.)

Name.....

Address.....

.....